THE JAMES SPRUNT STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Published under the Direction of the Departments of History and Political Science of the University of North Carolina

VOLUME 41

PHARAONIC POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION, 663 to 323 B. C.

By

MARY FRANCIS GYLES

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PREFACE

The religious and theoretical aspects of the Egyptian kingship have received considerable attention from many able scholars, but only seldom (and that chiefly in the Empire period) has an attempt been made to show it functioning as a practical institution within a defined and specific historical framework. Using an historical, rather than a linguistic or archaeological approach, it seemed possible to contribute to the delineation of Egypt's place, and the role of her kings, in a fascinating era when many links were forged between the Ancient Near East and the Greeks. I have freely used the works of many scholars to whom I owe an immense debt of gratitude for information and inspiration. But they are not responsible for any of my errors in interpretation. I make no pretense of having checked or corrected all of the many translations which I have used except where obvious discrepancies forced me to select one rendering in preference to another. My interest was not in retranslating the texts but in interpreting them historically.

It has been my aim where possible to link the materials of my study with the older periods of Egyptian history on the one hand and with the Ptolemaic regime on the other. While chronological limitations are of use to form a framework, it is never justifiable to detach a historical era completely and make it seem to have a beginning and an end.

This work was originally completed as a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina under the direction of Professor W. E. Caldwell. I cannot thank him adequately for his encouragement, suggestions, criticisms and general advice and assistance. His generosity with time was always unstinting.

Much of the original research was done in Europe under the auspices of a grant from the Belgian American Educational Foundation. Without this assistance my use of materials in libraries and my museum studies in Egypt, Greece, and throughout Europe would have been impossible. I also owe deep gratitude to the staff of the Fondation Égyptologique de la Reine Élisabeth in Brussels. They placed their resources at my disposal and assisted me with ideas and advice. In Egypt the Abbé Drioton who was then Director of the Service des Antiquités was especially kind, as were members of the staffs of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Institut Français, and the Oriental Institute of Chicago. And I owe much to Professor Henri Frankfort, under whom I was privileged to study, and who first interested me in the kings of Egypt. His early death is deeply regretted.

In revising my manuscript for publication, the staff of the Brooklyn Museum has extended me every facility in the use of their collection and of the materials in the Edwin Wilbour Library. Mr. M. V. Bothmer, Associate Curator, has done more perhaps than any other single person to make possible this final revision. Intensely interested in the Saite and Late Dynastic Periods himself, he has provided me with invaluable information and new insight into the historical problems.

I owe thanks to others too numerous to mention, including several members of the staffs of Brooklyn College and the University of North Carolina. Finally, I am grateful to my mother who has been my principal proofreader.

Brooklyn College
January 3, 1959

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Agyptologische Forschungen
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ARE	Ancient Records of Egypt
ARA	Ancient Records of Assyria
AS	Annales du Service des Antiqués de l'Egypte
ASJL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AZ	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache
BAE	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Society of Orientalists
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CE	Chronique d'Égypte
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
FHG	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
MDAI/AK	Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologische Instituts Abteilung Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MMAF	Mémoires de la Mission d'Archéologie française
MME	Metropolitan Museum Expedition
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
NGWG	Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
RA	Révue Archéologique
RE	Révue Égyptologique
RT	Récueil de travaux rélatif a la philologie et a l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften
TIA	Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum
YOS	Yale Oriental Series

PHARAONIC POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION

663 to 323 B. C.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

The period of Egyptian history from 663-323 B. C.[1] has only recently become the subject of intensive study. In 1947, some years before his death, Mr. H. E. Winlock of the Metropolitan Museum of Art could correctly say: "The Saite period? Nobody knows anything about the Saite period. Herodotos did but he is dead."[2] However, in the last few years more and more Near Eastern specialists in archaeology, language and history have concentrated their attention on the Saite and later Dynastic times in Egypt, to the profit and better understanding of the entire course of events in the eastern Mediterranean during that span of time. A number of reasons account for the early neglect of the period. Few monuments and texts were found compared to those from preceding eras in Egypt. Those known were often hard to date, were fragmentary, and were less spectacular than Old Kingdom and Empire remains.

But in recent years, the fascination and importance of the interrelations of Egypt with Babylonia, with the Greeks, with the Hebrews and with the Persians have been more fully realized. And luckily, the scarcity of sources has proved more apparent than real. Recent discoveries have enormously amplified the information available, and with the exception of a few puzzling spots remaining to be clarified, the general course of events is quite clear. Continuing exploration gives hope that all lacunae may soon be filled.

In addition, critical studies on the available sources have done much to increase the value of the records at hand. Numerous studies, for example, have sought to assess the accuracy of Herodotos in the light of the archaeological finds, the Egyptian texts and the records of Babylonia and Persia. One of the most recent of these studies, as well as one of the best, is the work of De Meulenaere, HERODOTOS OVER DIE 26ste. DYNASTIE (II. 147-III. 15)[3]. De Meulenaere has critically compared the information provided by Herodotos with the Egyptian texts and the excavations in Egypt in an effort to determine what sources the Greek historian used, and the probable reliability of these sources. His conclusions were that Herodotos made use of Egyptian traditions, Greek accounts and stories from Asia Minor and elsewhere, and that, allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration

[1] All dates cited are before the Christian era unless otherwise noted.
[2] In conversation with the author.
[3] Leuven: University Press, 1951.

especially in the Greek tales and for a few honest mistakes, Herodotos is in most cases "entirely worthy of belief".[4]

De Meulenaere's work confirms previous studies made by How and Wells,[5] Petrie,[6] and others.[7] The evidence supporting Herodotos' accuracy, keen observation and historical integrity is overwhelming, and fortunately the mistakes due to his Greek sources are easily detected. The modern historian has only one regret concerning Herodotos' work; that it is not twice as long and several times as detailed.

Similarly, critical examination has enhanced the value of other source material. Studies in dating and in comparative archaeology permit a more confident use of the Jewish records,[8] and continuing explorations in Palestine and Syria have produced important documents to supplement those already known.[9] Babylonian and Persian records have been published more extensively[10] and contribute to the understanding of events and policies in which those two kingdoms play so significant a role. Less has perhaps been done in systematic examination of the mutual interrelations and cultural interchanges between the Greeks and the Near East prior to the Ptolemaic period. Dunbabin had made a start in this direction[11] but did not live to complete his work, and few Classicists have shown interest in the problem. The critical studies of the Greek sources have chiefly been made by students interested primarily in Egypt or other areas of the Near East.

The Egyptian records have not escaped the scholars' critical eyes. One of the most ambitious of such critical studies is that of Kienitz. Published in 1953, his book DIE POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE ÄGYPTENS VOM 7. BIS ZUM 4. JAHRHUNDERT VOR DER ZEITWENDE made use of all records known up to 1949.[12] The Egyptian monuments and texts pertaining to the period under study are listed and described in an appendix to his text. Not everyone agrees or will agree with Kienitz' interpretation,[13] but his study has great value in the clarification of dating problems and in the delineation of the international contacts and relationships of these centuries.

[4] De Meulenaere, *Herodotos Over die 26ste. Dynastie,* p. 150.
[5] How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912).
[6] Petrie, *Naukratis,* Part I, *EEF,* III (London, 1886).
[7] My own dissertation. University of North Carolina, 1949.
[8] See recent works by J. Bright, W. F. Albright, J. T. Nelis, A. Malamat, E. R. Thiele, E. Vogt, L. Torczyner, E. Nötscher et al. cited in the Bibliography.
[9] See especially the works of W. F. Albright and Nelson Glueck which are cited in the Bibliography.
[10] Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), and Cameron, "Persepolis Tablets Old and New," *JNES,* no. 3 (July 1958), pp. 161-176. v. also other works by the same author cited in the Bibliography, and publications by G. Posenor, D. Mallet, et al.
[11] T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbors (8th. and 7th. centuries B. C.).* (London, 1957).
[12] Published at Berlin in 1953.
[13] *Infra,* pp. 35 et seq.

Even more provocative has been the recent work of Yoyotte scattered through a number of publications.[14] He has added greatly to the solution of several puzzles in the Saite dynasty; notably to a better understanding of the Nubian Expedition under Psamtik II and to the clarification of the policies of Psamtik's father Necho. In addition, Yoyotte has suggested some intriguing ideas for further study which may be most profitably pursued. It is to be hoped that he will synthesize the results of his studies in a large-scale work sometime in the near future.

Other critical and interpretive studies of value to an increased understanding of the Late Dynastic periods of Egypt are those of Kees, ZUR INNENPOLITIK DER SAITENDYNASTIE,[15] Seidl, ÄGYPTISCHE RECHTGESCHICHTE DER SAITEN—UND PERZERZEIT,[16] Hughes, SAITE DEMOTIC LAND LEASES,[17] and articles by Malinine, Sauneron and others.[18] Extremely important to an understanding of Egyptian political theory in any period of Egypt's history are the studies by Rudolph Anthes on the concept and meaning of Maat.[19]

Yet, while these studies and others are vital to an analysis of the powers, policies and administration of the kings of Egypt, they can only supplement the original sources. The most useful of these are texts from Egypt itself which deal with political and administrative matters. Some of these are on stone, in the form of royal records or statements by royal officials. Others on papyri deal with law suits, contracts, personal letters, and tales of local or national interest. For convenience, there may be listed under the two categories the most useful and important of each type, together with the principal publications and translations of each.

EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES (on stone).

Adoption stele of Nitocris. Legrain, *AZ,* 35 (1897), pp. 16-19. Translation and commentary by Erman, *op. cit.,* pp. 24-29. Translation by Breasted, *AR,* IV, sects. 935-938. The Adoption stele records Psamtik's proclamation of the adoption of his daughter Nitocris by the reigning "Divine Wife" of Amen, Shepenupet. It also includes an account of the ceremony of installation together with a list of the revenues given her by Amen and by her father Psamtik.

Adoption stele of Ankhnes-nefer-ibre'. Maspero, *AS,* V (1904), pp. 84-90; Breasted, *AR,* IV, ## 988 et seq.; Kees, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Phil.-Hist.-Klasse, Fachgruppe I, Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Folge, Band I, no. 5 (1935), pp. 96-98; Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem sarg der Ankhnesneferibre',* Copenhagen: 1937.

[14] See Bibliography.
[15] *NGWG* (1935), pp. 95-106.
[16] Ägyptologische Forschungen (Gluckstadt, et al., 1956).
[17] See Bibliography.
[18] See Bibliography.
[19] See Bibliography.

Statue of Nesuhor. Maspero, *AZ,* 22 (1884), pp. 88-90; translation by Brugsch, *ibid.,* pp. 93-97. Also, Schäfer, *Klio,* IV (1904), pp. 152-163; Breasted, *AR,* IV, ## 989-995.

Inscription of Mentuemhat. Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut at Asher,* pp. 350-358; Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt,* nos. 164 and 167.

Inscription of Ibe (Aba). Daressy, *AS,* V (1904), pp. 94-95; Breasted, *AR,* IV, ## 958 et seq.

Inscription of Nesnaüiaü. Ranke, *AZ,* 44 (1907-8), pp. 42-54.

Inscription of Semtutefnakhte. Kees, *op. cit.,* pp. 98-9; 101; Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library,* III, pp. 72-75. Both these inscriptions, that of Nesnaüiaü and that of Semtutefnakhte, were made by the officials themselves, and give an account of the offices they have held and the faithful performance of their duties. Unfortunately, they are both in a fragmentary state, with that of Nesnaüiaü in unusually bad condition.

Inscription of Pedihor. Breasted, *AR,* IV, ## 952 et seq.

Stele of Donation. Kees, *AZ,* 72 (1936), pp. 40-52.

Decree of Apries. Gunn, *AS,* XXVII (1927), pp. 211 et seq.

Stele of Amasis. Daressy, *RT,* 22 (1900), pp. 1-9.

Decree of Amasis, year 16. Spiegelberg, *Neue Urkunden zum ägyptischen Tierkultur,* Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philolog.-Hist. Klasse (1928), pp. 9 et seq.

Naukratis Stele. Gunn, *JEA,* XXIX (1943), pp. 55-59.

Inscription of Udjahorresne. Gunn, *AS,* XXVI (1926), pp. 85-6; G. Posener, *La première domination Perse en Égypte,* nos. 11-23. The inscription of Udjahorresne is in very good condition. It is written on and around a statuette owned by the Vatican and was discovered during the last century, but not fully published and translated until 1926. Udjahorresne served under Amasis, Psamtik III, Cambyses, and Darius and leaves a most valuable historical text.

Inscription of Amasis the General. Chassinat, *RT,* XXIII (1901), p. 78.

Inscriptions from the Temple of Khargeh. Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis in the el Khargeh Oasis,* I (1941).

Canal inscriptions of Darius. G. Posener, *op. cit.,* nos. 24-29; Kent, "Old Persian Texts," *JNES,* I (1942), pp. 415 et seq.; Cameron, "Darius Egypt, and the Lands beyond the Sea," *JNES,* V (1947), pp. 308 et seq.

Numerous building inscriptions, Apis sarcophagi, and several highly important but extremely fragmentary inscriptions also exist. These are published in scattered articles and are included in the Bibliography.

LITERARY SOURCES (Papyri).

The Demotic Chronicle and texts on the verso. Papyrus no. 215

in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Papyrus 215 usw., Demotische Studien,* Heft 7, Leipzig: 1914. The Demotic Chronicle ("so-called"), is a long, rambling document which is supposed to have been written under the last period of Persian rule. Actually, it seems to be early Ptolemaic in date. It consists of a series of obscure prophecies concerning the coming of a great Pharaoh of the old native line who will save Egypt from the foreigners. Interspersed with this prophetic material are numerous references to actual events and conditions under the last native kings and during the final period of Persian rule. On the verso of the papyrus is a temple account from the reign of Cambyses, an edict of Darius I ordering that Egyptian laws be written down, and the amusing story of "Amasis and the Boatman."

The Loeb Papyrus. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Papyrus Loeb,* Leipzig: 1931.

The Rylands Demotic Papyri. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester,* III. The Rylands Papyri include several very important documents, the most interesting being No. IX, the "Petition of Patesi," which recounts the long struggle of a man who had been defrauded of his property to gain justice during the first Persian period. It gives us valuable insight into the judicial system of Egypt at this time. In addition, Griffith's publication contains much information about numerous other papyri which are not yet completely published.

Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. Many unpublished. S. R. K. Glanville.

Demotic Letters from the Persian period. Spiegelberg, "Drei Demotische Schreiben aus dem Korrespondenz des Pherendates," *SPAW* (1928), pp. 604 et seq.

Demotic Contracts. Révillout in numerous articles. The complete list may be found in Pratt. *Ancient Egypt, Sources of Information in the New York Public Library,* pp. 464-466.

Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.,* Oxford: 1923.

Late Egyptian Stories. A. H. Gardiner, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca,* I.

The advice of Mr. S. R. K. Glanville of King's College, Cambridge, was utilized in finding and choosing useful Demotic texts. There are hundreds of these texts which are gradually being published, chiefly contracts and business documents useful in the study of social and legal institutions.

There is additional material, aside from the written documents, from which information may be derived by inference. The tombs and temples in their art and architecture, building and repair operations all furnish evidence of Pharaoh's powers and functions, as do quarrying activities.

The tombs of most of the Pharaohs of the period remain undiscovered or were destroyed, but the tombs of the nobles in Upper Egypt leave no doubt about the magnitude of such construction under the Saites. The tomb of Ibe (Aba) (no. 36) is particularly notable. Visiting it is a rather eerie experience. Lighted by a couple of Arabs with lanterns and torches, scrambling and stumbling over fallen debris and choked by the nauseating smell of bats, one wanders through room after room and passage after passage. It is two stories high—or rather deep—and copies in its plan and decoration the Pyramid Temple Complex of Djoser (IIIrd. dynasty). This tomb is not open to the public and its plan and decoration have been very inadequately published.

The art which flourished under these late dynasties also provides a clue to royal policy. A conscious attempt seems to have been made to purify Egyptian art of foreign influences, and it must be supposed that the government actively fostered this nationalistic ideal. It formed part of a larger program to stimulate a religious and patriotic revival in the officials and ordinary citizens. The artist sought his models in the most ancient periods of Egyptian history, turning away from the Empire and looking to the Old and Middle Kingdoms for inspiration. Two peaks of achievement were reached in art and architecture, the first under the Saite pharaohs and the last under the Thirtieth Dynasty. This achievement was in every way comparable in quality to that of earlier periods, and was perhaps greatest of all in the realm of portrait sculpture and cast bronze work. The portrait busts are powerfully conceived and finely executed, and have a strength and beauty not to be equalled until Roman times.

Something has already been said of other primary sources which are to be found outside Egypt. The best known and most accessible are those in Greek literature on the one hand, and in the OLD TESTAMENT on the other. Most important is Herodotos, the reliability of whose work has already been discussed. He visited Egypt during the Persian domination, sometime after 460 and before 445 since he records the rebellion of Inaros and its failure. He traveled considerably in the delta and sailed up the Nile to Thebes and Elephantine. Though an excellent observer he had no knowledge of the Egyptian language and was dependent on interpreters. He obviously suspected that he was sometimes the victim of misinformed guides, especially about the earlier history of Egypt. A feeling of relief seems to shine from his remark that "In what follows I have the authority, not of the Egyptians only, but also of others who agree with them. I shall speak likewise from my own observation."[20] However, Herodotos was almost equally suspicious of his Greek informants, and with good reason. Only his native intelligence

[20] Herodotos ii. 154.

and common sense prevented his falling through these sources into grievous errors.

His accuracy is amazing in the light of his difficulties. He had no means other than his own reason to assess the credibility of his sources, in contradistinction to the modern student who can use the texts in the original or in accurate translation. Herodotos was further hampered by a lack of geographic and technical knowledge which might have assisted him in his selection and interpretation. Lacking this type of information, he was forced to report a number of differing accounts of the same event without being able to distinguish the true from the false except in terms of probability. This weakness did not stem from a lack of the power of discrimination within Herodotos himself. Indeed few historians of any era have been more keenly critical of apparent absurdities in his sources, but he lacked the necessary tools to assess them scientifically. A more serious defect, from the point of view of the modern historian, lies in Herodotos' inability to pursue one theme to its end before turning to some other topic. But to complain of this characteristic in Herodotos would really be unjust. Had he pursued his announced object of exploring the Persian Wars with the Greeks in the rigid manner thought desirable in modern historical writing, the wealth of detail on Egypt and the rest of the Mediterranean world in his time would never have been included at all.

The user of Herodotos' work is therefore reduced to rejoicing at some of his deficiencies as well as his strengths, and catches himself wishing that this particular great student of human affairs might have had the benefit of an airplane amongst other modern facilities without however being transferred from his particular place in time.

In contrast to Herodotos' HISTORIES, other Greek sources are both scattered and late. Most useful is probably the account of Diodoros of Sicily who visited Egypt in the first century before the Christian era, about the year 59. The duration of his visit and the extent of his travels are unknown though it is unlikely that he went south of Memphis. Diodoros depended heavily on earlier writers for his source material, but Oldfather believed that his range was wide and his choice good.[21] His principal sources are believed to be Herodotos (5th. century), Hecataeos of Abdera (3rd. century) and Agatharchides of Knidos (2nd. century). He of course added information from his own travels and observations.

Diodoros believed in the educational and moral value of history, and consistent with such an approach, he described laws, customs and institutions which he felt would be of most value to his readers. In his search for elevating topics he described customs and procedures of Egypt which are not mentioned elsewhere. But because of this search

[21] Oldfather, "Introduction", Loeb Classics, Diodoros I.

for moral values his history suffers. One suspects distortion to fit the theme, particularly in his description of the king of Egypt, his education and daily routine.[22] Greater attention is given this particular matter later in the present study, but it may immediately be said that however it may have applied to one of the later Ptolemies, the description is ridiculous in relation to a Saite, Persian or Late Dynastic Pharaoh.

In addition, his approach to history causes Diodoros to idealize his picture of Egypt, often making it sound a kind of Utopia. Nor has his description any depth. It is two dimensional rather than three. He notes no difference between his own time and that of Herodotos, and while much has been written of the continuity of Egyptian culture, not even Diodoros should have been so unaware of change. He could only have been blinded by his own preconceptions of what ought to be presented as history. His work must therefore be used with extreme caution. It is inaccurate, unobjective and biased, and is enlightened by little understanding of depth and change, or even by acute observation of Egyptian life and custom in the first century at the time of his own visit.

A much more penetrating observer is to be found in Strabo, who traveled throughout the length and breadth of Egypt a generation after Diodoros. However, the very factors which are most commendable in Strabo's work make it less useful for the study of periods earlier than Strabo's own time, and it is only occasionally when he introduces a reference or institutes a comparison involving conditions before the Ptolemaic rulers that Strabo proves helpful. He accompanied Aelius Gallus up the Nile as far as the Ethiopian frontier in B. C. 25 and 24, and was still in Egypt in 20. His work may be described as a "historical geography," because of his habit of including asides and "throwbacks" from the main stream of his narrative.

Other classic sources are brief and scattered, and from early and late periods. They may be listed here: Aristobulos (fragments), *Ps.* Aristotle, Aristodemos (fragments), Aristophanes, Athenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Ctesios, Hesychius, Isocrates, Justin, Menander (fragments), Philokoros, Plato, Plutarch, Polyaenos, Theopompos, Thucydides and Xenophon. Xenophon provides much information about Greek and Egyptian inter-relations in the fifth and early fourth century. Certain Greek inscriptions found in Egypt dating from this period have also been utilized.

There are also several demotic papyri from the Ptolemaic period, dealing with historic events, which have proved helpful. These have been published chiefly by Grenfell and Hunt.

An immense body of source material, as yet inadequately examined and published, remains to be considered. The excavations in Syria,

[22] Diodoros i. 169-173.

Asia Minor, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia have brought to light a greater quantity of documents than exist for Greece and Rome together. Though many thousands of these records are unpublished, they have been sorted and the most valuable made available. Some attempts have been made to form collections of the documents in translation. A collection of the Persian sources is in progress at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, but for the present, the Persian documents which are most useful in this study must be sought in articles and monographs. They offer exceedingly valuable supplementary material. Important publications of the Persian texts have been made by Cameron, Posener, Olmstead, Strassmeier, Weissbach, Schmidt, Herzfeld, Kent, and Dubberstein.

The records and annals of Babylonia and Assyria do not offer much to this study other than in forming its historical background. The best collection of these documents is found in Luckenbill's *Ancient Records of Assyria,* which supplants the older collections by Smith, Ward, Bauer, and others. Documents discovered or published since these volumes appeared are to be found in monographs and articles, and in the recent publication of the British Museum texts by Wiseman.

The best known of the Near Eastern sources, the OLD TESTAMENT, remains one of the most useful. It contains the historical records of the small Hebrew kingdoms which straddled the chief land route between Egypt and Babylonia. Due to their geographical position, these small kingdoms suffered constantly from the depredations and machinations of their powerful neighbors. Traditionally, Egypt considered Palestine and South Syria her first line of defense, and when she did not actually dominate these areas, she yet interferred in their politics. While Babylon held the region, Egypt sponsored and supported, with money and troops, several revolts. When these rebellions failed, Egypt offered asylum and employment to the refugees. The Saite Pharaohs dominated the coastal regions of Syria by virtue of a powerful navy, but could not prevail against the Babylonians on land. This did not prevent them from trying to do so, however, and it is known that Egypt made an attempt to relieve Jerusalem when it was besieged by Nebuchadrezzar for the second time.[23]

Naturally, the most pertinent books of the OLD TESTAMENT are II Kings, II Chronicles, and the Books of the Prophets, especially Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The prophets must be used with care.

Flavius Josephus used either the Old Testament or the records used by the Biblical authors as his sources. The work of Manetho, an Egyptian writing in Greek under the Ptolemies, exists only in the quotations of later writers who used him as a source. Little remains

[23] Jeremiah, 37:5.

other than a king list. Berossos, late Babylonian historian, has suffered the same fate.

The method of this study, in seeking to analyze the institution of kingship in fact and theory, must necessarily be analytical and interpretive. Some help can be obtained from secondary sources, but there are none which center primarily on the problem. It is to be regretted that certain source material remains inadequately published, and even more to be deplored that other important documents quite probably remain undiscovered. Any present picture of the Pharaonic institution in either its practical administrative aspects or in its theoretical nature will, under the circumstances, contain errors and inadequacies which only time will serve to remedy. Still it seems possible at least to clarify the theoretical basis on which the kingly office rested throughout these years, and also to show how and why it filled the needs of Egypt in practical operation. By choosing this particular period, the royal insitution may be examined as it touches foreign peoples, affecting or being affected by them. By considering a span of time in which there are several dynastic changes, the general pattern of the office, rather than the characteristics of specific kings, should more clearly emerge. The inclusion of the Persian rulers and of Alexander the Great serves a double purpose: to assess the strength and durability of the theoretical traditions, and to gain a more accurate estimate of the extent to which the Pharaonic office fulfilled the practical needs of Egypt under varying circumstances.

CHAPTER II

THE SAITE REVIVAL

In the two centuries preceding the accession of Psamtik I in 663 B. C., Egypt had fallen victim to internal dissension and to invasions from abroad. Two, and sometimes three, rival princely lines claimed the titles and powers of the Pharaonic office. Thus the twenty-second dynasty rulers were challenged by those of the twenty-third but were never completely overcome by them, and the two lines co-existed until eliminated by the twenty-fourth dynasty whose members resided at Sais in the Delta. During the course of these struggles in the eighth century, the city of Thebes and the territory to the south which was dominated by it achieved virtual independence from any of the rival houses. Thebes and Upper Egypt were ruled for several generations by the successive high priests of Amen. In the course of a determined attempt by the pharaohs of the twenty-third dynasty to widen their area of control, however, the power of the high priest was reduced by the creation of the office of the "Divine Wife" of Amen and the investment of this Divine Wife with the property and wealth of the god. Osorkhon III (ca. 757-748) probably achieved some temporary control in Thebes by the appointment of his daughter as the first Divine Wife. Her control of Amen's property led to the growth of her power at the expense of the high priests. However, the change was of no permanent advantage to later rulers of the twenty-third dynasty and of no use at all to those of the twenty-fourth. Thebes and Upper Egypt became, to all intents and purposes, the independent state of Amen.

The twenty-fourth dynasty (ca. 730-715) consisted of only two kings, Tefnakhte of Sais and his son Bocchoris. Ambitious and capable, Tefnakhte overcame the last representatives of both the twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties but does not seem to have controlled any territory to the south of Memphis. Bocchoris, whom the Greeks called one of the great law-givers of Egypt, seems merely to have sought to stabilize and administer the area which his father controlled. He reigned only six years before falling before the Ethiopian invader Shabaka.

The already complicated picture of events in the seventh century was in reality vastly more confused than this sketch of internal affairs would indicate. All three of the rival dynasties so far mentioned were struggling not only against each other but also against the Assyrians to the north and the Ethiopians to the south.

The dangers from Assyrian expansion were apprehended earliest. From the time of the Asiatic expedition of Sheshonq I, first king of the twenty-second dynasty (ca. 930), until the reign of Tefnakhte who was apparently in alliance with the king of Israel, Egyptian rulers had sought to oppose the growing power of the Assyrians in Palestine and Syria. No responsible claimant to the throne of Egypt could fail to respond to the increasing danger from the north, and Egypt participated in numerous anti-Assyrian leagues and coalitions formed in Syria.

Danger from the south did not appear until the middle of the eighth century with the accession at Napata of the ambitious Ethiopian ruler Piankhi (ca. 751-716). Piankhi may have been the descendant of a priestly family who had fled from Thebes at the time of Sheshonq I,[1] or he may have been the scion of a royal family of Napata who had been converted to Amenism. His name is Egyptian, and was formerly borne by high priests of Amen during the twenty-first dynasty. Piankhi was himself an ardent supporter of that god.

Piankhi's reasons for invading Egypt are unknown, but about 730, according to his own inscription, he was already the ruler of Thebes and was preparing for an invasion of Lower Egypt.[2] After a long siege he took Memphis and received the homage of all the princes of Middle and Lower Egypt, and for the first time in many, many years Egypt was united. Drioton and Vandier remark that Piankhi's conquest might have had "the happiest consequences" for Egypt if only he had been as able an administrator as he had proved a conqueror.[3] But Piankhi soon left Memphis and set out for his distant capital of Napata, leaving the three rival dynasts to resume their struggles with one another and with the Assyrians.

However, in Thebes Piankhi retained control by having his sister Amenardis adopted by the reigning Divine Wife of Amen (Shepenupet, daughter of Osorkhon III) as her heiress. Amenardis duly succeeded to the office and kept the "Amen state" loyal to Napata.

None of the successors of Piankhi were satisfied with such partial control of Egypt. Shabaka (716-ca. 701) invaded the Delta in the year after his accession and put an end to the power, and the life, of Bocchoris, thus formally ending the twenty-fourth dynasty. Manetho now lists the Ethiopian rulers as the twenty-fifth dynasty of Egyptian pharaohs. But in reality, neither the victory of Shabaka nor the recognition of the later Egyptian historian reflects the true facts concerning control of Lower Egypt by the dynasty from Napata. Conditions in the Delta and in Middle Egypt seem to have approached anarchy. No prince was strong enough to overcome the others nor to resist the Ethiopian alone, so that some turned toward Assyria as Bocchoris seems to have done

[1] Drioton and Vandier, *L'Egypte,* ed. *Clio* (Paris, 1946), pp. 512-513.
[2] Breasted, ARE IV, sects. 818-883.
[3] Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.,* p. 519.

in his extremity.[4] As Isaiah said: "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight everyone against his brother . . . city against city and kingdom against kingdom."[5]

Shabaka, in his efforts to gain control, exchanged gifts with the Assyrian Sargon II,[6] but his successors Shabataka (ca. 701-690) and Taharqa (690-664) sought to prevent the conquest of Palestine by Sennacherib. According to both Jewish and Greek sources,[7] a miracle saved Jerusalem and the army of Taharqa (commander for Shabataka) from extinction by Sennacherib.

Kienitz assumes that Amenism played a major part in the activities of the Ethiopian rulers against Assyria, because "in theory Amen was master of the world".[8] It is of course possible that a belief in Amen inspired these kings to increase their efforts to prevent Assyrian expansion, but grim necessity demanded the attempt from any ruler of Egypt. Experience had already proven that the Delta princes would not hesitate to seek Assyrian aid to rid themselves of Ethiopian control. The only hope of unity and control by Napata lay in warding off the Assyrian danger. Taharqa, an extremely able and astute ruler, and the active ruler even before the death of Shabataka, seems to have been thoroughly cognizant of this fact. When he became king after Shabataka's death, Taharqa placed his loyal supporter Mentuemhat in Thebes as his governor and went himself to reside at Tanis in Lower Egypt. Nothing is known of his arrangements for the governing of Napata during his absence. Little could be plainer than these actions. Taharqa was the first of the Ethiopian rulers who sought to exercise a strong and firm authority over Lower and Middle Egypt. In the years after his accession, and prior to the invasion of Esarhaddon in 674, Taharqa sought to form a strong coalition in Palestine and Syria to resist Assyria and protect Egypt. Political necessity rather than religious theory amply explains his actions.

However, the rivalry of the Assyrian and Ethiopian rulers in Syria had dire consequences for Egypt. Esarhaddon invaded the Delta in 671, defeated Taharqa and took Memphis. Taharqa himself escaped to the south, but Esarhaddon boasts that he captured the Ethiopian's harem of wives and his children.[9] City rulers, including Necho of Sais and his son Psamtik, and Mentuemhat of Thebes figure among the new Assyrian tributaries. Esarhaddon confirmed them in office as his vassals, giving several of them Assyrian names.[10] After the Assyrian's departure from Egypt, Taharqa returned from his refuge in Nubia and retook Mem-

[4] Luckenbill, ARA II, sect. 18.
[5] Isaiah 19:2.
[6] ARA II, sect. 240.
[7] II Kings 19:35-36; Herodotos ii. 141.
[8] Kienitz, *Die Politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1935), p. 7.
[9] ARA, sects. 553-559.
[10] *Ibid.*, 559.

phis, aided apparently by some of the Delta princes. Esarhaddon died before he could take further action, and Assurbanipal, needing time to settle matters of the succession, was unable to act before 666. In that year, a strong Assyrian army entered the Delta, forcing Taharqa to flee south for the second time. The Delta princes who had aided him were arrested and taken to Nineveh. Among them was Necho of Sais, but he somehow obtained the forgiveness of Assurbanipal and was sent back to Egypt as the vassal ruler of Memphis and Sais. In addition his son Psamtik was made ruler of Arthribis.[11]

A text of Mentuemhat of Thebes, in combination with a fragmentary Assyrian record, would indicate that the Assyrians attacked Thebes, forcing Mentuemhat to make some rather extensive repairs afterwards.[12] Ceremonies of purification were also necessary in the temples. But since Thebes remained strong until 660/659, it seems unlikely that it was the victim of anything more than a raid which was quickly repelled. Mentuemhat boasts of "protecting the city".

Taharqa died in 664, and the Saite dynasty (the twenty-sixth) was later to be dated from the time of his death. However, Taharqa's Ethiopian heir, Tanutamen, had no intention of resigning any claim to Egypt. Almost immediately after his accession he made his way downstream, in response, he said, to a dream. He was unopposed (indeed loudly acclaimed at Thebes) until he reached Memphis where Necho put up a strong defense.[13] In the bloody fighting at Memphis, Necho was killed and Psamtik fled to Syria to Assyrian protection.[14] Assurbanipal's vengeance was swift. Before the year was out the Assyrians had recaptured Memphis. Tanutamen fled first to Thebes and then back to Napata. Psamtik profited by his own and his father's loyalty, receiving Memphis, Sais and Arthribis and becoming the most powerful Egyptian prince in the Delta, albeit a vassal to Assurbanipal. If Herodotos is to be believed, Assurbanipal must have had twelve vassals in Lower Egypt.

The events of the next two or three years are difficult to reconstruct. Herodotos, who was apparently unaware of Assyrian claims on Egypt, describes the twelve rulers as independent and says that all had agreed mutually never to seek power at another's expense even though a prophecy foretold that the one "pouring a libation in a bronze vessel" would become ruler over them all. By accident, he continues, Psamtik poured such a libation from a bronze helmet, and the other princes drove him into exile.

> This was the second time that Psammetichos had been driven into banishment. On a former occasion he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian who had put his father Necos to death; and had taken refuge in Syria . . .

[11] *Ibid.*, 771.
[12] ARE IV, sects. 901-916.
[13] *Ibid.*, 919-934.
[14] Herodotos ii. 152.

Now it was his ill fortune to be banished again by the eleven kings on account of the libation which he poured from his helmet; on this occasion he fled to the marshes.[15]

Psamtik was rescued from his uncomfortable refuge by "Ionians and Carians", the "men of bronze" promised to Psamtik by an oracle, who served as his mercenaries and enabled him to defeat the eleven other kings and become master of Egypt. The obvious inaccuracies (the name Sabacos, for instance) and the exaggerations of the Greeks (the story of the libations) are balanced by solid fact (the death of Necho at the hands of an Ethiopian king, etc.). In full agreement with De Meulenaere, it must be acknowledged that Herodotos made use here of a reliable Egyptian tradition.[16] There is little reason to doubt that Psamtik had to overcome rivals in Lower Egypt before becoming master elsewhere, and the only doubt lies in the time of his action; whether before freeing himself from Assyrian control or after. Several bits of evidence point to the possibility that he achieved the mastery of Lower and Middle Egypt before his formal break with Assyria.

Among these are the Assyrian attack in 660-659, the account of the "Governor of Herakleopolis and Admiral of the Fleet" which seems to refer to that attack,[17] the statement of Polyaenos that Psamtik attacked "King Tementhes" with Carian mercenaries,[18] and the general political conditions in the Near East which made an alliance between Gyges of Lydia and Psamtik very unlikely before 655.[19] Taken together, these various factors would seem to permit a reconstruction of the course of events along the following lines.

Assurbanipal's army, after 'liberating' Lower Egypt from Tanutamen in 664-663, left suitable garrison forces in Memphis and in the frontier fortresses. Psamtik took control of his territories as did other vassal princes in the areas assigned to them by Assurbanipal. Psamtik, more powerful than the rest, was the object of jealousy, and a conspiracy was formed against him. In order to counteract this hostility, Psamtik approached Patesi, ruler of Herakleopolis in Middle Egypt and secured his support. (Patesi's son, Semtutefnakhte was to continue to back Psamtik in future and to profit accordingly.) However, Psamtik needed more strength than could be provided from his own territories and those of Patesi, and hired Ionian and Carian mercenaries. He could have justified his action to Assurbanipal by an accusation of disloyalty against his opponents and a plea for his own safety.

If Kienitz is right in dating the Assyrian sack of Thebes to 660 and

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste. Dynastie* (Leuven, 1951), pp. 30 and 149-150.

[17] Griffith, *Catalog of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library,* hereinafter cited as *Pap. Ryl.* III, *Pap. Ryl.* IX. 5. 13 et seq.

[18] Polyaenos vii. 3.

[19] Kienitz, *op. cit.,* p. 12 discusses the problem in some detail.

659,[20] which coincides with the evidence of Papyrus Rylands IX, some explanation is necessary for the renewed activity of the Assyrians. Inter-dynastic rivalry between Psamtik and the other Delta rulers provides that explanation. If Psamtik was indeed driven to take refuge in the marshes, his complaints to Assurbanipal would have been numerous and strong. Among other accusations, the charge that his rivals were pro-Ethiopian would not have been lacking. Such disturbances would amply account for the Assyrian decision to launch a full scale attack on Thebes in an attempt to end the Ethiopian danger forever. As the Assyrian army entered the Delta, they were joined by Psamtik and his mercenaries, and by Psamtik's supporter Semtutefnakhte, son of Patesi and Admiral of Herakleopolis with the fleet. Restoring order in Lower Egypt, Psamtik was left in full control of the administration while the Assyrian army embarked on the fleet, which Psamtik and Semtutefnakhte provided, in order to make their way to Thebes. Some of Psamtik's mercenaries accompanied them.

In the "Year IV of Psamtik I", says Papyrus Rylands IX, the governor of Herakleopolis and Admiral of the Fleet defeated the king of Ethiopia and helped in an "inspection of the southlands".[21] The writer of the papyrus, a later Patesi who was probably a distant relative of the Herakleopolitan royal family, makes no mention of the Assyrians, and indeed he may never have heard of them. He only glorifies the great Herakleopolitan governor. But it seems obvious, in view of the date and of the events described, that Semtutefnakhte transported the Assyrian army to Thebes, and after its capture, took the Assyrian commander on an inspection tour, probably up to the first cataract. Later Egyptians simply chose to regard the Assyrians as troops under the command of Psamtik, perhaps thinking of them as just another type of mercenary, and ignoring the reality of Assyrian overlordship. Later generations were probably genuinely ignorant of the Assyrian conquest.

Thebes was thoroughly sacked and looted in this campaign. It was never to recover its former vigor and importance. Psamtik, even though his fleet and troops had probably participated in the city's capture, could hardly have rejoiced at the sight of the wagonloads of booty taken north to Assyria. Possibly it was the discovery of a mutual and shared concern which led to a rapprochement, and later to negotiations, between Psamtik and Mentuemhat of Thebes. Memphis had been taken and ransacked two or three times in Psamtik's own memory, and now he was forced to witness the wealth of Thebes carried away. No patriotic Egyptian, whether from the south or north, could have been wholly unmoved by the fate of Thebes. So dramatic was its fall that it was well remembered in Israel by Nahum a half century later.[22]

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
[21] Griffith, *loc. cit.*
[22] Nahum 3: 8-10. Cf. ARA II, sect. 778.

Certainly the opening wedge for "conversations" between Psamtik and Mentuemhat must have been made soon after the departure of the main body of the Assyrian force in 659 or 658. The agreement which was finally reached and which bore fruit in 655 bears every mark of careful thought and extensive bargaining. Such a treaty could hardly have been the work of a few weeks or months.[23] Its careful details form one of the most important arguments in favor of the belief that Psamtik had overcome the other Delta princes prior to the departure of the Assyrians, and that he had been recognized by Assurbanipal as vassal king of all Egypt in return for his loyalty and assistance. It is almost impossible otherwise to explain the willingness of Mentuemhat to deal with Psamtik in a fashion so relatively unfavorable to his own interest and so favorable to the power of Psamtik. The treaty, as it finally was fulfilled, installed the daughter of Psamtik in the office and property of the Divine Wife of Amen, permitted Psamtik to appoint her stewards and other officials, and more importantly allowed him to appoint the governor and border commander to the south of Thebes. The only concession Mentuemhat obtained was confirmation of his own position as governor of Thebes. But this concession was not extended to a recognition of any claim by the son of Mentuemhat to his father's office. The treaty recorded in the Adoption Stele of Nitocris was obviously negotiated on the side of Psamtik from a position of considerable power and authority. From what circumstances did this powerful position spring? Obviously only two are possible: one, authority from Assyria and the other, firm control of Lower and Middle Egypt.

It must therefore be supposed that Psamtik was designated vassal king of Egypt by Assurbanipal before the Assyrian army retired from Egypt after the sack of Thebes. His control of Lower and Middle Egypt must already have been secure, and must have remained secure, since further disturbances in Egypt before 655 would inevitably have brought another Assyrian invasion. Kienitz correctly points out that no hostile action against Assyria was possible or likely before 655,[24] since Assyrian power was apparently at its peak in those years and its military striking ability was unimpaired.

Psamtik opened negotiations with Mentuemhat, who though probably reluctant, dared not refuse to respond, though his actions may well have been kept secret from the reigning Divine Wife, Shepenupet II. She, the daughter of Piankhi, had already adopted Taharqa's daughter Amenardis II as her successor. These two princesses must have remained unswervingly loyal to the Ethiopian Tanutamen, and indeed evidence of such loyalty is not lacking. An inscription dated to the reign of Tanutamen is found in Thebes as late as 657.[25]

[23] ARE IV, sects. 935-958. [24] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[25] Legrain, *Ann. Ser.* VII (1906), pp. 226-227.

Only one concession, in addition to the retention of his office, was obtained by Mentuembat; the postponement of action until after the death of Tanutamen in 656. Public opinion in Upper Egypt, combined with the attitude of Shepenupet II, probably convinced Psamtik of the necessity to wait (if the negotiations were indeed complete before that time). But the early spring of 655 saw the terms of the agreement fulfilled. Nitocris and her party of officials and servants boarded the fleet under the command of Semtutefnakhte and sailed for Thebes.[26] Upon arrival, a stately ceremony was held in which Shepenupet II formally adopted Nitocris as her heiress to the office of Divine Wife of Amen. Nitocris was endowed with the property of the god and with further estates in Middle and Lower Egypt given by her father Psamtik.[27] His ability to bestow these lands speaks eloquently of the firmness with which he controlled those regions. Amenardis II was disinherited and probably returned to Ethiopia along with her majordomo Akhamenron and other officials.[28]

In further fulfillment of the agreement, Psamtik's appointed governor Nesnaüiaü and his garrison troops took up their position at Elephantine between Thebes and the Ethiopian territory, while Semtutefnakhte returned to Herakleopolis to the north. It was virtually impossible for Mentuemhat even to contemplate treachery, surrounded as he was by Psamtik's loyal officials and watched in Thebes by Nitocris and her selected followers from the Delta.

Psamtik must have been pleased with his forethought when the news reached him later in the same year (655) of the serious rebellion against Assyria which had begun in Elam. When he realized the extent of the revolt, he turned to Gyges of Lydia to obtain mercenaries both to secure Egypt's safety and to be ready to seize any advantage which events might offer.

A text of Assurbanipal complains that "Gugu of Lydia" sent troops to "Tishamilki, King of Egypt, . . . who had thrown off the yoke of my sovereignty . . ."[29] Since Gyges was defeated and killed in 653, and his son forced to pay tribute to Assurbanipal, the treaty with Psamtik must be dated to 655 or 654. And apparently Psamtik used the mercenaries sent by Gyges to expel the Assyrian garrison from Egypt. No other information exists concerning Psamtik's activities in the growing rebellions against Assyria. In fact, some years later, Psamtik appears as an Assyrian ally, at a time when such alliance was really unprofitable from an Egyptian viewpoint. It seems quite possible, therefore, that Psamtik made peace with Assyria soon after the defeat of Gyges to

[26] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 15 places the departure of the fleet on March 2 and its arrival at Thebes on March 18.
[27] ARE IV, sects. 935-958.
[28] La Clant, JNES XIII (1954), p. 169.
[29] ARA II, sect. 785.

prevent a like fate for himself. It is true, as Kienitz points out, that the Assyrians were kept occupied by the serious situation in Elam. And in 650 Babylon and a group of Syrian states joined the rebellion. Nevertheless, the situation in Elam had not prevented immediate and successful action against Gyges, far to the west, nor apparently had Assyria been dislodged from Palestine and Syria before 650. Punitive action against Psamtik was certainly not impossible. The silence of the Egyptian tradition, in Egypt itself and in the pages of Herodotos, about any great war of liberation seems very significant. Why was Egypt alone exempt from Assyrian efforts at reprisal? A quick peace treaty seems the only logical answer.

To assume that such an agreement was reached before 650 between Assyria and Egypt makes clear an otherwise unintelligible picture of events after that date. Kienitz has argued that Psamtik pursued the departing Assyrian garrison north into Palestine and besieged them at Ashdod (Herodotos' Azotas). The siege, in his view, began about 650. Between 630 and 625, Kienitz continues, the siege was interrupted by an invasion of the Scyths who drove off the Egyptians and seized Ashdod themselves. Psamtik, retreating to Egypt, bribed the Scyths to return north, then followed them and resumed his siege of Ashdod, though this time it was defended by the Scyths.[30] This entire interpretation seems unacceptable in the light of logic, of historical probability, and of the evidence.

Since Assurbanipal couples the sending of troops by Gyges and rebellion in the same inscription, Psamtik must have declared his independence and expelled the Assyrian garrison as a part of a joint action with Gyges. This would place Psamtik's revolt before 653, probably in 654. His first care afterwards would be to strengthen his frontier posts, and Herodotos emphasizes the attention which Psamtik gave to his border defenses.[31]

In 650 Babylon and Syria rose in rebellion against Assurbanipal, and, if Psamtik began his siege of Ashdod in that year as Kienitz supposes, it is perfectly possible that Psamtik undertook the siege as an ally of Assyria to reduce one of the rebels—and incidentally to profit himself and Egypt by gaining greater security on his northern frontier. After the interruption by the Scyths, Psamtik returned to the siege. There is no reason to suppose that Ashdod fell to the Scyths or was even attacked by them. It seems extremely unlikely that a city so strongly defended that the resources of Psamtik's troops (consisting of Greek, Libyan, Ethiopian and other mercenaries in addition to his Egyptians) were inadequate to capture it, could fall to the ill equipped Scyths. Herodotos describes the Scyths as a people "possessed of

[30] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. Herodotos i. 105 and ii. 157.
[31] Herodotos ii. 30 and 153-154.

neither cities nor forts, who carry their dwellings with them wherever they go; trained moreover one and all to shoot from horseback . . ."[32] Commenting on those who served in Xerxes' army he describes them as "clad in trousers, and on their heads pointed, stiff caps. They carried the bow of their country and the dagger; besides which they carried the battle-axe . . ."[33] None of these would appear to be very adequate weapons for capturing a strongly defended and well fortified Palestinian city. The Scyths might take a city of that type by surprise assault, but not one garrisoned and prepared like Ashdod.

A glance at the map indicates the likelihood that the Scyths by-passed Ashdod. They were obviously on a plundering raid and probably avoided all strongly fortified areas. They swept past Ashdod along the coast and continued south of Ascalon. Psamtik, says Herodotos, met the Scyths in Palestine and persuaded them to turn back by means of "gifts and prayers".[34] Elsewhere he records that "on their return, passing through Ascalon, a city of Syria, the greater part of them went their way without doing any damage; but some few who lagged behind pillaged the temple of Celestial Aphrodite".[35] Here is a perfect picture of a straggling horde of raiders returning from a successful foray. The most of them, satisfied with their loot and with Psamtik's bribe, were returning north. A few who were not yet rich enough were trying to collect their share of plunder. Absolutely no evidence indicates that the Scyths captured important cities in Syria and Palestine or even that they wished to conquer any on a permanent basis.

If Psamtik were engaged then in a siege of Ashdod when the Scyths swept down the coast, he may (or may not) have been forced to raise the siege and hurry southward to intercept them before they could reach the Egyptian border. The suddenness of the raid and its obvious purpose in search of booty, enabled Psamtik to turn it back without a fight. Drioton and Vandier characterize his methods as "little honorable",[36] but others might consider him wise in preventing an attack on his unprepared country, especially when there was small danger of a future reappearance of the Scyths.

When they had disappeared, Psamtik resumed his siege of Ashdod (if it had been interrupted in the first place). This interpretation assumes that Herodotos' statement that Psamtik "lay before" Ashdod for twenty-nine years before taking it[37] is correct. If Herodotos' figure is not inaccurate,[38] Kienitz is right so far as he recognizes the necessity to explain a relation between the siege of Ashdod and the Scythian

[32] *Ibid.*, iv. 46.
[33] *Ibid.*, vii. 64.
[34] *Ibid.*, i. 105.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 548.
[37] Herodotos ii. 157.
[38] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 32 tentatively suggests that Herodotos might have confused the length of the siege (29 years) with the total years spent in Asia by the Scyths (28 years). He deems it unlikely, however, and I agree.

invasion. However, it is as impossible to believe with him that Psamtik was too timid to fight the Scyths in the defense of Egypt, yet followed to attack them bravely at Ashdod as it is to believe that the Scyths were capable of taking Ashdod from a hypothetical Assyrian garrison which Psamtik could not overcome.

By 616, Psamtik would seem to have gained control of Ashdod and possibly other areas of Palestine and South Syria, and was sending troops to the aid of the Assyrians in the Euphrates Valley. Kienitz assumes that this aid was the result of an alliance between the Assyrians and Psamtik made after the fall of Ashdod, which he dates about 620. He ascribes the alliance to a betterment of Egyptian and Assyrian relations made necessary or desirable by the Scythian invasion.[39] His entire interpretation of the period from 655 to 616 makes necessary such an assumption, and obviously, since the Egyptians were assisting the Assyrians after 616, a treaty had been concluded before that date.

However, it is most likely that the agreement was made much earlier than 620. Certain negative evidence tends to support an earlier date. The Assyrian records in the years from 650 onward, maintain "a curious silence" about Egypt. The rebels in Lydia, Babylon and Elam are vilified and threatened. Egypt is scarcely mentioned. Yet the loss of so rich a province should surely have been of grave concern to an Assyrian ruler. And the activities of Psamtik at Ashdod, unless undertaken in alliance with Assyria, would have increased the concern. Again, while it was to Psamtik's advantage to secure a settlement with Assyria in 653 or soon afterward, he had no need of an Assyrian alliance after 620. By that date, Psamtik had secured control over all of Egypt, fortified his frontiers, and extended his sway northward at least to Ashdod. Why would he make an alliance with Assyria? In fact, an alliance with Assyria might even constitute a danger to Egypt, for Assyrian power was obviously crumbling before the Babylonians and the Medes. Psamtik's action in sending troops to aid in the defensive actions which the Assyrians fought after 616 is more consistent with a long-standing and time-honored alliance than with a recent treaty which was of little or no value to Egypt. But whatever the reason, Psamtik continued to aid the Assyrians until his death.

Psamtik's relations with Ethiopia are even less well documented than his policy toward Assyria. Only two, unconnected bits of evidence seem to provide any clue, and one of these is doubtfully dated to the reign of Psamtik I. A text found in the Temple of Mut at Karnak records the return of a Semtutefnakhte, Governor of Herakleopolis and Admiral of the Fleet, to Thebes from an embassy to Nubia. He is bringing gifts.[40] While it hardly seems possible that an earlier Semtutefnakhte bore exactly the same titles assumed by Psamtik's friend and

[39] Kienitz, *loc. cit.*

[40] Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899), p. 375.

supporter, uncertainty exists because another block from the same sequence refers to the "bark of Piankhi". Drioton and Vandier are inclined to refer the inscription to the reign of Piankhi,[41] though the discoverers Benson and Gourlay, as well as Hall and Kienitz date the document to the period of Psamtik I.[42] It seems possible that the majority opinion is correct here since there would be little reason for Piankhi to send an embassy to Thebes. He ruled it and made it his headquarters very often. It is extremely likely, however, that Psamtik I sought to make a peaceful agreement with Ethiopia, and if such a mission were sent to Napata, no more appropriate commander than Semtutefnakhte could have been found. The Governor of Herakleopolis had proved himself loyal to Psamtik, was an experienced fleet commander on the Nile and evidently had enormous capacity in the execution of delicate negotiations. His management of the adoption of Nitocris was almost certainly a diplomatic triumph and entitled him to further employment in the same vein. His origin as a Middle Egyptian would have been an additional advantage in making him more welcome in Ethiopia than a Delta official could be. There is every probability therefore that Semtutefnakhte was accredited as the Egyptian ambassador to Nubia, and that his mission was a success. Peace was made between Egypt and Ethiopia and gifts were exchanged.

The second bit of evidence in relation to Egypto-Ethiopian relations seems to stamp the hypothesis a certainty. According to Herodotos, Psamtik became so lax, so careless even, of his southern frontier that he left the garrison at Elephantine unpaid for three years. The troops, rightfully incensed, mutinied and marched south into Nubia. Herodotos embroiders the tale by adding that when pursuing officials caught them up and begged them to return to their wives and children, the mutineers coarsely explained (with suitable gestures) that they were amply equipped to secure new wives and children wherever they went, and thereupon continued on their way.[43] De Meulenaere points out that Herodotos probably used an Egyptian tradition here and that his basic facts are probably accurate, though the embroidery may be of Greek invention.[44]

Two striking assumptions regarding Egypt's security are possible from this account. One is that Psamtik had so little fear of hostility from Ethiopia that he neglected his southern frontier. The other is that Ethiopia made no attempt to take advantage of this border difficulty. Nor is there any evidence of hostility between the Egyptian and Ethiopian kingdoms between the death of Tanutamon and the expedition of

[41] Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.*, pp. 551-552.
[42] Hall, CAH III, pp. 293-294. Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[43] Herodotos ii. 30. Cf. Diodoros i. 66-68 and Strabo xvii. 1. 2-5.
[44] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

Psamtik II in 589.[45] It is impossible not to conclude that some kind of agreement had been made between the two nations.

In Egypt itself Psamtik's policy was directed toward the defense of the state, the peaceful reorganization of national life and the restoration of general prosperity. He seems to have achieved considerable success in all areas. A "Renaissance" of Egyptian culture was promoted during his fifty-four year reign. Art and architecture thrived, and were consciously "archaistic" or "nationalistic". That is, the artist and the builder sought inspiration and models in the oldest periods of Egyptian history. The trend had begun earlier but was actively sponsored by Psamtik and his successors, probably as a part of their effort to arouse patriotism and loyalty. Otherwise normality returned to Egypt under Psamtik. Temples were repaired, cities were beautified, documents recording legal and financial activities multiplied, industry flourished and foreign trade increased. Greeks, along with Phoenicians and other foreign merchants, were allowed to live and trade in Egypt. To assist them in their business, Psamtik formed a class of "interpreters."[46] By later Greek tradition, active measures to stimulate trade were taken by sponsoring exploration of the upper Nile and of the desert.[47] Possibly the best estimate of Psamtik's reign was made by Diodoros who said:

> He (Psamtik) put in order the affairs of Egypt, looked after the royal revenues, and then formed alliances with Athens (*sic*)[48] and certain other Greek states. He also regularly treated with kindness any foreigners who sojourned in Egypt of their own free will, . . . and speaking generally, he was the first Egyptian king to open to other nations the trading places throughout the rest of Egypt and to offer a large measure of security to strangers from across the seas.[49]

In 610 or 609,[50] Psamtik I died, leaving the throne to his son Necho II. A rather mysterious scarcity of inscriptions from Necho's reign makes a reconstruction of the order of events abnormally difficult. In some cases the absence of records is due to a positive effort to destroy the name of Necho, either by erasure or deliberate omission. No really acceptable explanation has yet been offered for this attempt to wipe out Necho's names and titles but it was apparently undertaken during the reign of Psamtik II, the son of Necho. The second Psamtik refused to follow family tradition in naming his own son for his grandfather,

[45] Unless the reference by Polyaenos belongs at a later period than I have assumed. V. note 18.
[46] Herodotos ii. 154 and 164.
[47] Athenaeus viii. 345.
[48] No alliance with Athens is known, and this is probably an error on the part of Diodoros.
[49] Diodoros i. 67.
[50] V. Appendix A on problems of dating.

so that Apries (Wah-ib-Rē') rather than another Necho succeeded Psamtik II.

De Meulenaere assumes that Manetho is correct in assigning an Ethiopian origin to the Saite royal line and believes that the name "Necho" is Ethiopian.[51] If this is true, the dislike of the name may have arisen during the war between Egypt and Ethiopia under Psamtik II. Yoyotte, however, characterizes De Meulenaere's arguments as "unequally convincing", and notes that most of the monuments which have been mutilated to erase the name Necho are private in nature, though two official ones erected by the king after 599 are also marred.[52] It seems strange indeed for the name "Necho" to have carried so strong a connotation of dislike, even if it were of Nubian origin, unless it had also been borne by an Ethiopian king, and there is no evidence that it was. It had been the name of the father of Psamtik I and should by this time have been thoroughly "Egyptianized". In addition, a large body of opinion would connect the Saite ruling family with a Libyan origin, which is of course more likely from the geographic and historic circumstances. The historical origin of the family, however, has perhaps received an excessive amount of attention, and has been given too much weight both in this particular situation and in another problem arising in the reign of Apries.[53]

Historic family relationships are even less apt to determine immediate governmental policy than are the attitudes of living relatives. There is no reason to believe that the kings of Egypt were unduly swayed by ancestral loyalties. It is much more probable that a serious difference of opinion, personal or political, developed between Necho and his son Psamtik; a difference so deep that it affected even Apries the grandson of Necho. For while no systematic attempt was made after the reign of Psamtik II to destroy Necho's inscriptions, and indeed his cartouche is in its rightful place in an Apis burial during the reign of Apries, still no effort was made to rehabilitate the name. Private persons in Egypt often compounded their names with "Psamtik". The name "Necho" was avoided until the time of Amasis and the Persian period.[54]

The policies of the Pharaoh Necho offer no clue to his son's dislike. He was friendly to the Greeks and unlucky in his contacts with Nebuchadrezzar in Syria and Palestine, neither of which would have been popular in Egypt. Still, the defeat by Nebuchadrezzar came early in his reign and his later activities in building up the Egyptian navy, exca-

[51] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20 and p. 50.

[52] Yoyotte, "Le Martelage des Noms Royaux Ethiopiens par Psammetique II", RE VIII (1951), pp. 215-239, and Yoyotte, "Nechao", *Dictionaire de la Bible*, Suppl. VI (1958), p. 371.

[53] V. *Infra*, p. 33.

[54] I am indebted for much of this information to Mr. M. V. Bothmer, Associate Curator at the Brooklyn Museum. For the appropriate inscriptions *v.* GLR IV. 86. i, 87. iii and 88. v.

vating the Nile-Red Sea Canal, and sponsoring exploration should have dimmed the memory of Necho's losses in Syria.

Biblical records provide most valuable information on the policies of Necho in relation to Nebuchadrezzar. In the days of Josiah, says II Kings, "Pharaoh-Nechoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo . . ."[55] Kienitz, in conformity with earlier historians of Necho's reign, assumed that the Jewish chronicler erred in his statement that Necho went 'against' the king of Assyria, and would correct it to read that he went 'to the aid' of the king of Assyria.[56] However, Yoyotte has recently offered the intriguing suggestion that the statement in II Kings is literally true, and that Necho had broken completely with the policy of Psamtik I and turned on Egypt's former ally. The sudden disappearance of Assuruballit and the Assyrians, and the sole presence of the Egyptian army on the Euphrates after 607, may have been due to Necho rather than to Nebuchadrezzar (or his father).[57] Since the Babylonian records are missing for the most part between 608 and 606 no further information is available, but Yoyotte's suggestion is neither impossible nor improbable. It has already been noted that the hopelessness of the Assyrian cause must have been obvious for some years. Necho may have decided to lay claim to Assyria's former territories in Syria and Palestine and to eliminate the remnants of her army. Certainly, when the Babylonian records resume in 606, Necho and the Egyptians have become the enemies of Babylonia in the upper Euphrates valley. The Assyrians have disappeared.

II Chronicles indicates that Necho fought Josiah unwillingly, since the Egyptian merely wished free passage to go north to Carchemish,[58] but at the end of his successful campaign in north Syria, Necho took advantage of his victory over the king of Jerusalem. Jehoahaz had been selected to take Josiah's place, but Necho demanded that the young king appear before him at the Egyptian headquarters established at Riblah, deposed Jehoahaz after a three month reign, and elevated his appointee Eliakim in his place. Eliakim was forced to change his name to Jehoiakim in token of his vassalage to Necho and agreed to pay tribute to Egypt.[59] It is unclear from the statements in II Kings and II Chronicles whether the tribute was to be a one-time affair or a continuing annual payment, though the taxation of the land by Jehoiakim "to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh" strongly suggests an annual payment, as does the appointment of Jehoiakim. Necho intended to retain permanent control over Jerusalem.

It must be supposed that Necho adopted similar measures to control

[55] II Kings 23:29-30.
[56] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
[57] Yoyotte, "Nechao", *op. cit.*, p. 372.
[58] II Chronicles 35:20.
[59] II Kings 23:35 and II Chronicles 36:3-4.

other areas which his successful campaign had given him. Garrison forces must have remained in Carchemish and probably at Riblah. None are mentioned at Jerusalem, but in view of the Egyptian control to the north and domination of Ashdod to the south, there was no real need for troops in Jerusalem. From the end of the summer in 608[60] until 605, Necho must have felt certain that he had restored the Egyptian empire in the north.

But, said Jeremiah, "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim" Necho was defeated by the Babylonians at Carchemish, and the Egyptians were driven out of north Syria.[61] The rout was not however so complete as the prophet had at first believed, since Necho was able to "smite Gaza and cut off Ascalon".[62] The two cities probably rebelled at the news of the Egyptian defeat and had to be retaken. Thus Egypt continued to control Philistia, and for a time Jerusalem. Jehoiakim remained loyal until 601/600 when "Nebuchadrezzar came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant for three years: then he turned and rebelled against him".[63] It is significant that Necho rendered him no assistance at either time.

Aside from his action in Philistia, Necho made no further attempts to interfere in Palestine and Syria. His dream of empire was most rudely shattered. Kienitz assumes that a formal peace treaty was signed between Necho and Nebuchadrezzar,[64] while Yoyotte suggests that danger threatened from Ethiopia, thus forcing Necho to curtail his activities in the north to avoid attack on both frontiers.[65] Both are possible and both receive some slight support. In favor of the argument for a treaty with Nebuchadrezzar is the failure of Necho to aid Jerusalem or any of the Palestinian cities attacked by the Babylonians. A document containing a plea for Egyptian aid exists, which Albright dates to the reign of Necho or to that of Psamtik II, and which he thinks might have been sent from Ascalon.[66] Since Psamtik II made a peaceful journey into Philistia during his first years as king, it may belong to the last three or four years of his reign rather than in Necho's. In addition to the suggestive policy of non-interference, there is Herodotos' rather extravagant account of an Egyptian princess, Nitocris, who became queen of Babylon.[67] Dougherty believed that Necho and Nebuchadrezzar signed a peace treaty shortly after the Battle of Carchemish, and that the Babylonian married a sister or daughter of Necho to perpetuate the agreement.[68] De Meulenaere comments briefly on the Princess' name which is obviously Saite, but concludes that the entire

[60] V. Appendix A on dating problems.
[61] Jeremiah 46. Cf. Woolley, *Carchemish* II, pp. 125-127.
[62] *Ibid.*, 47:1-5.
[63] II Kings *24*:1.
[64] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[65] Yoyotte, "Nechao", *op. cit.*, p. 392.
[66] Albright, "A Supplement to Jeremiah: the Laschish Ostraca", BASOR LXI (Feb. 1936), pp. 10-16.
[67] Herodotos i. 184-186.
[68] Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar,* YOS XV, pp. 51-63.

story is vastly exaggerated.[69] He is certainly correct, but the possibility of a core of truth is not thereby eliminated. It would seem most likely that a treaty was signed, for as Kienitz points out, the advisors to the kings of Judah repeat endlessly the warning that no help is to be expected from Egypt. At the time of Jehoiakim's death, the writer of II Kings says, ". . . the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates".[70] A few years later, Ezekiel warns Zedekiah: "Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him (Zedekiah) in the war, by casting up mounts, and building up forts . . ."[71] Ezekiel further implies that embassies are useless, for the Egyptian king will not respond.

There is, on the other hand, a possibility that trouble existed with Ethiopia, since it is known that Psamtik II sent an expedition there about five years after Necho's death. Nevertheless, this danger was neither so imminent nor so serious that Necho was deterred from building up his naval strength, nor from constructing the Nile-Red Sea Canal and sending out an expedition to explore the coast of Africa. Nor was the danger from Ethiopia immediate at the beginning of the reign of Psamtik II since he absented himself from Egypt to make a religious journey northwards. A definite treaty between Egypt and Babylonia, and duly honored by both Necho and Psamtik II, would seem best to account for the resignation of Necho's claims in Palestine and Syria.

Necho was tremendously interested in the sea and in trade. De Meulenaere points out that numerous Egyptian officials after the reign of Necho bear naval titles: "Commander of Royal Fleets on the Great Green", "Captain of the ḳḳ ships", and others.[72] And, in line with this general interest in maritime affairs, Necho sought to improve Egypt's already superior water routes. He laid plans for opening (or reopening) the ancient water passage from the Nile to the Red Sea.

Herodotos did not believe that Necho completed this project, saying that an unfavorable oracle caused its abandonment,[73] so that Darius I of Persia was later obliged to finish it. He seems to have been confused, for while Darius was forced to dig out a part of the waterway which had silted up, the Persian's inscription indicates that a completed canal previously existed. According to Posenor's translation, Darius first sent a boat to discover whether or not the canal was navigable. The report was returned that it was "without water" for a distance of "eight itrw" (about 84 km.). Darius then ordered that the area be excavated and had steles set up to commemorate his work.[74] Herodotos' own record

[69] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[70] II Kings 24:7.
[71] Ezekiel 17:17.
[72] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
[73] Herodotos ii. 158-159; Diodoros i. 33 and Strabo xvii. 8.
[74] Posenor, "Le Canal du Nil a la Mer Rouge", CdeE XIII (1938), p. 272.

of the Phoenician voyage around Africa establishes a strong presumption that the canal was passable well before the end of Necho's reign.

That voyage, one of the most remarkable achievements of all times, should have made its sponsor Necho and its commanders famous forever. But no patriotic pen sang the praises of these ancient counterparts to Prince Henry the Navigator and to Vasco da Gama. Only a hint of the magnitude and drama, the toils and trials shows through Herodotos' uncomprehending report. Here are his words:

> As for Libya, we know it to be washed on all sides by the sea except where it is attached to Asia. This discovery was first made by Necos the Egyptian king who . . . sent to sea a number of ships manned by Phoenicians, with orders to make for the Pillars of Heracles, and return to Egypt through them and through the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians took their departure by way of the Erythraean Sea and so sailed into the southern ocean. When autumn came they went ashore . . . and having sown a tract with grain, waited until it was ready to cut. Having reaped it, they again set sail; and thus it happened that two whole years passed and it was not until the third year that they doubled the Pillars of Heracles and made good their voyage home. On their return, they declared—I for my part do not believe them, though perhaps others may—that in sailing around Libya they had the sun on their right hand.[75]

De Meulenaere believes that Herodotos used a literary source for his account of this voyage, and accepts the truth of the story, along with most modern students of the period, as beyond dispute.[76] A second successful circumnavigation was made, according to Herodotos, by the Carthaginians from west to east, but later attempts under the Persian rulers met with failure.

Necho died in 595 or 594 and his son Psamtik II became king. In spite of Psamtik's dislike of his father's name, he made no notable change in Necho's policies. The Egyptian fleet was supported, peace with Nebuchadrezzar was maintained and Egypt continued to receive Jewish, and probably other, refugees who fled from the Babylonians during these troubled years in Syria. Apparently, the situation in Philistia and along the coast of South Syria was stable enough to permit Psamtik to make a trip into that region for religious reasons. The details and objectives of his journey are unknown, but he was accompanied by priests.[77]

Before the end of his short reign, Psamtik was forced to send a military expedition into Nubia. Sauneron and Yoyotte, analyzing the texts, have concluded that a real military necessity motivated the attack. They argue that the number of contemporary references, together with the resounding titles awarded to the victorious generals and other personnel,

[75] Herodotos iv. 42.
[76] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.
[77] Griffith, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 92-93.

indicate that the victory was of vital importance to Egypt. They therefore assume that aggression or the threat of aggression, had originated in Ethiopia and that Psamtik sought to anticipate an Ethiopian action by taking the offensive.[78] The Egyptian forces, supplemented by Greek, Carian and Semitic (and perhaps Libyan as well) mercenaries marched southward, accompanied by the king up to the frontier at Elephantine. From there the army continued under its commanders, leaving Psamtik to await news at home. Some of the Greek mercenaries left their names and comments scratched on pillars and walls at Abu Simbel. A few of these graffiti give pertinent information. One says: ". . . Potasimto commanded the foreign troops, Amasis the Egyptians."[79] An inscription records how Psamtik heard the news of their victory with joy, and rewarded the commanders with honorary titles.[80] Sauneron and Yoyotte tentatively conclude that the army penetrated as far as Gebel Barkal (ancient Napata) where they won a decisive victory. They are certain that the material rewards to the army and its generals were great, since the profusion of monuments from this short reign (larger in quantity than from the two preceding long reigns) must be considered a measure of increased prosperity.[81]

Upper Egypt benefited considerably in new buildings and in repairs and reconstruction. Psamtik's interest may have been strongly aroused in the Theban area by the ceremonies attendant on the adoption of his daughter Ankhnesneferibrē' by her great aunt, Nitocris, as heiress to the office of Divine Wife of Amen.

Herodotos says that Psamtik II died almost immediately after his attack on Ethiopia. Kienitz puts the date at February 8, 588 while Parker would make it a year earlier.[82] Apries, the Biblical Hophra, ascended the throne in his father's place, and almost immediately instituted a significant change in Egypt's foreign policy. Abandoning the long maintained peace with Babylon, Apries challenged Nebuchadrezzar in Palestine and Syria. He fought Tyre and Sidon and interfered in events at Jerusalem.

In Herodotos' words, Apries "marched an army to attack Sidon, and fought a battle with the king of Tyre by sea".[83] Menander apparently confused this attack with the later siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar which lasted for thirteen years. Yet a grain of truth may be contained in his report when he says that Tyre sought help from Babylon to resist Apries.[84] If so, and if it is assumed that Apries was successful

[78] Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La Campagne Nubienne de Psammetique II," BIFAO I (1952), pp. 157-207.
[79] Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, pp. 12-13.
[80] Sauneron and Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[82] Herodotos ii. 161. See Appendix A on dating problems.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] Menander, FHG IV, p. 477.

in his attack on Phoenicia, the causes for Nebuchadrezzar's later siege can be confidently explained.

While Apries was engaged with his war against Phoenicia, rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar was stirring at Jerusalem and elsewhere. Apries offered encouragement, and when Nebuchadrezzar laid siege to Jerusalem for the second time, Apries marched to its relief in 586. Jeremiah writes: "Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt; and when the Chaldaeans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem." He continues by describing the jubilation of Zedekiah, which Jeremiah tried to lessen by his warning that the king of Egypt would "return to his own land" and that the Babylonians would return, take Jerusalem and burn it.[85]

The event, of course, proved Jeremiah correct. Zedekiah and many of his people went into captivity, while others escaped to refuge in Egypt. Jeremiah was an unwilling member of the latter group, but did not cease to prophesy from his Egyptian haven. He wrote: "Thus saith the Lord; Behold I will give Pharaoh Hophra into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life."[86] Apries employed many of the Jewish refugees as mercenaries.

Nebuchadrezzar, stirred to action by the rebellions and by the activities of Apries, turned from Jerusalem to besiege Tyre. From 585 to 573, nearly thirteen years, the Babylonian army lay before the great Phoenician port but to no avail. The Egyptian fleet may well have rendered able assistance in maintaining Tyrian resistance, and may have been the determining factor in Nebuchadrezzar's resolution to invade Egypt. A Babylonian text records the expedition of Nebuchadrezzar into the Egyptian Delta in the thirty-seventh year of that king, or 568.[87] But by that time Apries was no longer responsible for the direction of Egyptian affairs.

In 570 Apries had become embroiled in a quarrel between the Libyan tribes of the western desert and the Greek state of Cyrene. From the time that the Dorian colony led by Battos I had landed on the coast of North Africa there had been disagreements between the two peoples. The Greeks accused the Libyans of treachery for not showing them the best site for a city. They insisted that the Libyans had purposely led them past the choicest spot by night. The Libyans on the other hand were not eager to surrender any of their land. Yet, until shortly before 570, no other difficulties developed. A fresh influx of colonists sparked a new quarrel. Battos II had encouraged large numbers of settlers to come to Cyrene, and the city necessarily expanded, encroaching greatly on the territory of the neighboring Libyans. A formal com-

[85] Jeremiah 37:5-8.
[86] Jeremiah 44:30.
[87] Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings* (626-526), pp. 72-94. Cf. Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften,* p. 207.

plaint by the chief Adicran was fruitless, and the Libyans, "robbed and insulted," says Herodotos, appealed to Apries for help. Willingly enough, Apries sent an Egyptian army to aid the Libyans. He purposely held back his Greek mercenaries fearing that they would be unwilling to fight against other Greeks. The Egyptian army, indicates Herodotos, was overconfident, never having fought Greeks before, so that their defeat by the Cyrenaeans "in the district of Irasa near the Spring of Thestes" had a devastating effect. Routed with great slaughter, only a few remnants of the army returned to Egypt.[88]

Much argument has arisen over the motives of Apries in assisting the Libyans, and those who are convinced that the Saite royal line had a Libyan origin explain his action in those terms. Such an ancestral connection is extremely unlikely to have been a decisive factor in his policy. Why should a remote kinship, many generations removed, have swayed Apries? There is no reason to assume that it did, especially since evidence of a more practical, political motive exists. Ezekiel specifically reports that Egypt, Libya, Lydia and Ethiopia, along with men of the land of Chub—which was probably a district of Libya, were in a league or "covenant" to resist Nebuchadrezzar.[89] The league was probably of some years' standing and enabled Apries to obtain mercenary forces from all these areas. Jeremiah had spoken earlier of "the Ethiopians and the Libyans that handle the shield, and the Lydians that handle and bend the bow."[90] Apries had obtained his Greek mercenaries through his Lydian alliance, and they consisted of Ionian Greeks. No record exists of any connection between Egypt and a Dorian state, Cyrene or any other. Apries must have felt obligated to assist his Libyan allies whether the "covenant" required it of him or not. No relationship in war or peace with Dorian Cyrene deterred him.

The consequences of his generous assistance were unexpected. The stragglers of the defeated army returned home with their bitter tale and roused a storm of rage and hatred against the Greeks; a rage which soon turned against Apries as well because he employed and protected Greek soldiers and merchants.

The Egyptians had long harbored a latent dislike for the Greeks, many of whom had resided in their midst since the days of Psamtik I. While Carians, Libyans and Phoenicians, as well as their old enemies the Ethiopians and the later Jewish refugees were tolerated well enough, the Greeks never were. Yoyotte points out that both Jews and Greeks were unpopular because neither assimilated well into Egyptian culture,[91] but the records from the Jewish colony at Elephantine show that there was greater friendliness between Egyptian and Jew than between

[88] Herodotos iv. 159.
[89] Ezekiel 30:5-6.
[90] Jeremiah 46:9.
[91] Yoyotte, *Histoire Universelle,* pp. 245-246.

Egyptian and Greek.[92] Whereas the Egyptian shared with the Jew certain customs such as circumcision, and certain dietary regulations such as a general avoidance of pork, no similarity existed between Egyptian and Greek customs. The cleanly Egyptian looked with horror on the uncleanly Greek.

Herodotos felt this personal hostility very keenly and sought to explain it on the basis of religion. He believed that the Egyptian resented the Greeks' consumption of cows which were sacred to Isis. He wrote: "This is the reason no native of Egypt, whether man or woman, will give a Greek a kiss, or use the knife of a Greek, or his roasting spit, or his cauldron . . ."[93] He did not apparently realize that the Greeks offended by their personal habits—even though he wonders at the Egyptians' cleanliness, recording that they bathed often, shaved and wore freshly laundered linen garments. He noted that the priests carried all these habits to an extreme degree, even to shaving off all body hair. Nor, says Herodotos with apparently some astonishment, would an Egyptian attend to any of his natural functions in public. It has not been unknown in other countries and in other eras for international relations to be affected by differences in habits of sanitation and cleanliness. It would appear from Herodotos' words that the Egyptian despised the Greek because of such differences.

The isolation of the Greeks in Egypt had probably been aggravated by their protected and favored positions under the Saite pharaohs. But in 570, the Egyptian natives, unable previously to express their deep, unreasoned resentment, were all the more ready to believe any evil charge. The survivors of the Battle of Cyrene imagined, says Herodotos,

> that Apries had sent them with malice aforethought into destruction. They believed he had wished a vast number of them to be slain in order that he might reign with more security over the rest of the Egyptians.[94]

Open rebellion broke out, stirred by the returned soldiers and supported by their relatives and friends.

Apries sent a trusted commander, the general Amasis (Ahmose), to pacify the discontent, but the rebels proved more persuasive than the general. He was induced to join the revolt and become its leader. Apries was justifiably indignant at this news, and sent a ranking courtier, the official Patarbemis, to arrest Amasis. This impossible mission was of course a failure. The rebels jeered, and Amasis returned a flippant reply that "he would come soon and bring others with him." The unhappy Patarbemis returned hastily to report on preparations in the enemy camp, but the enraged Apries had him arrested and mutilated

[92] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri,* no. 13, a marriage contract.
[93] Herodotos ii. 41.
[94] Herodotos ii. 161.

in punishment for his failure. Horrified to see Patarbemis without his ears and nose, the Egyptian officials who had hitherto remained loyal deserted in a body and went over to Amasis. Apries was left solely dependent on his mercenaries.

The two armies met at Mo-Memphis where Amasis and the Egyptians were victorious. Apries was apparently captured and kept closely confined for the next two or three years, after which he escaped and succeeded in collecting another army. Amasis was again victorious and Apries was slain, though whether by his own troops or by those of Amasis is not clear.[95]

In the midst of this civil strife, Nebuchadrezzar and his army penetrated into the Delta. Kienitz, beguiled by Nebuchadrezzar's pious self-praise, does not believe the Babylonian intended to conquer Egypt but only to demonstrate in warning. In his view, Nebuchadrezzar was not imperialistic.[96] Curiously enough, the non-imperialistic Nebuchadrezzar ruled by this time a rather extensive empire over which he insisted on retaining firm control. Also it is odd that the Babylonians chose Egypt's weakest moment for an invasion, and oddest of all is the fact that Nebuchadrezzar records "tribute," if this were merely a demonstration.[97] Under no circumstances could Egypt have contemplated any aggression while involved in civil war, and it was too early for Nebuchadrezzar to discern the future policies of Amasis.

Amasis paid tribute and rid Egypt of the Babylonians. It is unfortunate that the Babylonian account is so fragmentary, for it is impossible to believe that there were no other agreements involved in the settlement. It can be assumed however that a non-aggression pact was included since no further hostilities occur between the two nations.

There remained only the need for a settlement with Cyrene and for complete pacification of the Egyptian nationalists. The wily Amasis, later renowned among the Greeks for his wisdom and good humor, was successful in both. He made an alliance with Cyrene, married a princess from that city, and courted the goodwill of the Greeks by sending gifts to a number of Greek temples. He made a series of alliances with Greek city states as a result of his diplomacy.

At home in Egypt, he soothed the Egyptians by withdrawing the Greeks from their sight. The Greek mercenaries were taken from the frontier posts and closely restricted to their quarters in Memphis. They were readily available for use but were removed from wide contact with Egyptians. In like fashion, the Greek merchants were forbidden to wander about Egypt. They could live and trade at only one spot, the former village of Naukratis on the westernmost mouth of the Nile. This village was given them to enlarge, expand, govern and develop as

[95] *Ibid.*, 162.
[96] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Cf. p. 23.
[97] Wiedemann, "Nebucadnezar und Aegypten", AZ XVI (1878), pp. 87-89.

they pleased. In their excitement and joy at receiving a trade depot and city of their own, the Greeks scarcely noticed the restriction placed on their freedom.[98] Amasis, the most diplomatic of all the Saite rulers, achieved peace in a difficult situation without sacrificing any economic or military advantage.

He was also able to take Cyprus[99] without disturbing the peace with Babylonia. The remainder of his foreign policy was concerned with the formation of a series of defensive alliances in the face of the growing menace from Persia. Babylon was probably in the alliance during the remainder of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. That great ruler was strengthening the fortifications of his capital. But after his death in 562, the succeeding rulers of Babylon seemed strangely unaware of the danger and did not actively participate in the alliance, until Nabunaid belatedly tried to renew contact with Croesos of Lydia. Croesos was in league with Amasis, Polykrates of Samos and the city-state of Sparta. Amasis was allied with Croesos and Polykrates of Samos.[100] His relations with Sparta are unknown. But before the allies could act in concert, Cyrus the Persian attacked and defeated Croesos who was captured and put to death.[101] Cyrus turned next on the Greek states of Asia Minor and then on Babylon, which fell in 539.[102]

Only Amasis and Polykrates were left of the former allies and there was little they could do but wait. They obtained a respite while Cyrus went east to fight the Massagetae, where he was killed. Cambyses became king and began almost immediately to prepare for an invasion of Egypt. Polykrates deemed it expedient to submit and Phoenicia followed suit. Egypt stood alone.

Egypt's final misfortune as she readied herself for defense was the loss of Amasis. He died a few months before Cambyses' attack, leaving his son Psamtik III to defend the country. The popular Amasis might perhaps have prevented the treachery which plagued Psamtik, and might just possibly have beaten off the Persians. But a certain mercenary commander, Phanes of Halikarnassos, betrayed Psamtik and went over to the Persians.[103] Worse yet, the Egyptian naval commander, Udjahorresne, surrendered the fleet without a battle.[104] But in spite of this double treachery, the Egyptian army, says Herodotos, fought a tremendous and courageous battle at Pelusium before they were defeated and forced to flee. He remarked on the great numbers of human bones still visible on the battlefield at the time of his visit to Egypt nearly seventy years later, and commented interestedly on the

[98] Herodotos ii. 178-179.
[99] *Ibid.*, 182.
[100] *Ibid.*, i. 69-70; i. 77; and iii. 39-43.
[101] Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nabonid no. 8.
[102] Herodotos i. 188-191; Xenophon *Cyropedia* vii. 2; S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 98-100.
[103] Herodotos iii. 4-9.
[104] Posenor, *La Premiere Domination Perse*, pp. 1-26.

differences in the skull types.[105] The beaten Egyptians fell back on the fortifications of Memphis where Cambyses besieged them.

In the fall of the city, Psamtik III was captured and was forced to witness the execution of his entire family. He, himself, was kept alive for a time, and Cambyses is reported to have considered making him vassal-ruler of Egypt under himself. However, Psamtik was caught plotting against the Persians and was summarily executed. With him disappeared any Egyptian hope for immediate delivery from Persian control. Cambyses became Pharaoh of Egypt and Udjahorresne undertook the composition of his royal titulary.

[105] Herodotos iii. 11-12.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN PERIOD AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

To Herodotos, as to a modern historian, naked aggression without apparent cause as a reason for war seemed unacceptable. He therefore searched to discover some motive behind Cambyses' invasion of Egypt, but could uncover only three rather improbable reasons. And basically, as De Meulenaere points out, there is only one story with two variants. The core of all three accounts involves the possibility of blood kinship on which Cambyses might base a claim to the Egyptian throne. Herodotos was skeptical of them all and remarks that the Egyptians "pervert history, in order to claim relationship with the house of Cyrus."[1] But De Meulenaere notes that while Egyptian elements may be traced in the tales, Herodotos' sources were not Egyptian in this case but were rather to be found in the popular traditions of Persia and Asia Minor.[2] It does not seem to have occurred to Herodotos that the Persians, rather than the Egyptians, had the greater need to find an explanation for the conquest.

An Egyptian explanation, traces of which appear in the tales, would have been based on the divine conception of Cambyses by one (or another, depending on the informant) of the great gods of Egypt, Rē', Osiris or Amen,[3] who took the form of a reigning Pharaoh and begat Cambyses on his mother. It would then be normal for Cambyses to become Pharaoh.

What then was the cause of war? The personal ambition of Cambyses must necessarily have played a large part, though internal factors in the Persian state could not have been unimportant. It seems possible that the ancient Indo-European concept of a king as a successful leader in war was sharpened by the shift in power from the Medes to the Persians; a shift which had only recently been achieved under Cyrus, the father of Cambyses. The Persian kings, Cyrus and Cambyses, may have felt constrained to prove their right to leadership by constant military success,[4] and considerable tribal pressure may have been placed upon them to that end. From the Medes this pressure would have taken the form of: "Prove to us that a Persian king can lead us

[1] Herodotos iii. 2.

[2] De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[3] *Infra*, p. 49.

[4] One is very tempted to compare the policies and activities of Clovis the Frank, after his forcible unification of the Salian and Ripuarian branches of the Franks, with the expansion under Cyrus and Cambyses.

to greater success than a Mede," while the Persian pressure would have been: "Let us prove to the Medes that our king is a more successful military leader than was Astyages the Mede. Let us show them that a Persian can produce more wealth and glory than a Mede." This interpretation is strengthened by the mad actions of Cambyses when his expeditions to Ethiopia and to the Oasis of Amen came to grief. Blaming the Egyptian gods for the failure in the one area and the total loss of the army sent to the other, he took vengeance on Egypt and her gods. According to Herodotos' account, both failures were due primarily to Cambyses' foolishness. He, himself, led the drive into Ethiopia without making adequate preparation for supplies. Lack of provisions first forced his troops to cannibalism and then made retreat necessary. The army sent to the Oasis of Amen was lost in a sand storm.[5] When Cambyses arrived back at Memphis just after these reverses he found the Egyptians celebrating the birth of an Apis. Convinced that their joy was due to the Persian discomfiture, he executed the officers of Memphis and murdered the Apis bull.[6]

Cambyses had already pulled Amasis' body from the tomb and burned it, according to Herodotos, after heaping every insult on the corpse.[7] But no contemporary Egyptian record confirms these tales, and many must have been inventions by the anti-Persian faction at a later date. The chief inscriptions, such as those of the pro-Persian Udjahorresne, boast that Cambyses governed in accordance with custom, honored the deities of Egypt, and repaired and protected the temples.[8] He admits, however, that temple revenues were decreased and that he himself was richly rewarded by Cambyses, that he composed the royal titulary, served as advisor on Egyptian custom and held the title of chief medical advisor.[9] He had every reason to offer a biased account since a "good" rule by Cambyses would seem to justify the treason of Psamtik's Admiral, in Udjahorresne's own eyes at least. Even if he told the truth, there is no certainty that these policies applied outside the district of Sais where Udjahorresne resided. Yet, quarrying was carried out in the Wadi Hammamat under Cambyses' reign proving that some building projects were under way. And an Apis bull was properly and honorably buried by Cambyses, though after a strange delay, without any indication that violence had caused its death.[10] As Posenor notes in his discussion of the problem, this Apis died no earlier than the year 5 of Cambyses' reign, though it was not interred until the year 6. The normal period of embalment took seventy days,[11] but

[5] Herodotos iii. 17, 25 and 26.
[6] Herodotos iii. 27-28.
[7] *Ibid.*, 16.
[8] Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), p. 119.
[9] Posenor, *loc. cit.*
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-175.
[11] Herodotos ii. 145-147.

there seems here to have been a delay of about fifteen months between the death and burial of the Apis. It is possible to speculate, along with Wiedemann, Posenor, Drioton and Vandier, that the troubles described by Herodotos account for this extraordinary delay.

Whatever his policy in Egypt, and in spite of his failures in Ethiopia and at the Oasis of Siwa, Cambyses received the submission of Libya and of Cyrene. Herodotos says that the gifts of the Libyans were graciously received, but "not so the presents of the Cyreneans. They had sent no more than five hundred minae of silver, which Cambyses, I imagine, thought too little. He therefore snatched the money from them and with his own hand scattered it among his soldiers."[12]

In 522, which was Cambyses' sixth year by Egyptian dating methods,[13] the Persian king set off homeward, leaving Aryandes as Satrap of Egypt, Libya and Cyrene. Passing through Syria, Cambyses accidentally stabbed himself in the thigh, exactly, says Herodotos, "where he had himself wounded the Egyptian god Apis."[14] Gangrene set in and Cambyses died. Darius I usurped the throne, and Libya took the opportunity to rebel though Egypt remained quiet. The satrap of Egypt Aryandes was able to quell the Libyan revolt.[15] It is possible that he made use of Egyptian troops on this expedition under his commander Arsames.

Darius (522-486) came to Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. He had already been visited in Persia by that avid courtier, Udjahorresne, and Darius had ordered him back to Egypt with instructions to found a school at Sais for noble Egyptian boys.[16] When Darius himself came, he gave attention to the economic exploitation of the country to increase its revenues, and ordered that the laws of Egypt be recorded as they had existed in the forty-fourth year of Amasis.[17] For this purpose he called together all the chief men of Egypt. The laws were written and copies made in demotic (or hieratic) and in cuneiform.

To increase the volume of trade, Darius reopened the Nile-Red Sea Canal which had partly silted up, setting up five great stele to commemorate the work.[18]

Meanwhile, Darius was preparing to invade Greece. Egyptian ships were included in his fleet. He was unsuccessful in the attempt for his forces suffered defeat at Marathon in 490. In 488, after the news reached Egypt, rebellion began,[19] and assumed major proportions within

[12] *Ibid.*, iii. 15.
[13] V. Appendix A.
[14] Herodotos iii. 167.
[15] Herodotos. iv. 167-205.
[16] Posenor, *loc. cit.*
[17] Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik, etc., Demotische Studien,* Heft 7, pp. 30-31.
[18] Posenor, *op. cit.*, nos. 8-10; Kent, "Old Persian Texts," *JNES,* I (1942), pp. 415-423.
[19] Spiegelberg, Letter from Khnumemekhet to Pherendates, *SPAW* (1928), pp. 604 et seq.

a few months' time. Darius died before he could take vengeance on either the Greeks or the Egyptians, and left the problem to his son Xerxes.

Xerxes (486-464) sent an expedition to Egypt immediately, and by 484 had entirely subdued the country. His treatment of the Egyptians was harsh, and he broke away entirely from the conciliatory policy pursued by Cambyses and Darius. Egyptian workmen were taken to Persia[20] and Egypt was garrisoned heavily, partly with Jewish mercenaries such as those stationed at Elephantine.[21] He forced Egypt to furnish 200 triremes for his projected invasion of Greece. They were led by Achaemenes the satrap of Egypt, who was Xerxes' brother.[22]

When this expedition met defeat in Greece, a second series of revolts broke out in the Persian Empire. Xerxes was assassinated and his son Artaxerxes I (464-424) came to the throne. Shortly afterwards, Egypt took advantage of the prevailing discontent and rebelled for the second time. Inaros, a Libyan prince, began the revolt and he was soon joined by Amyrtaeus of Sais, who was apparently a descendant of the old royal family. They requested aid from Athens, and the Athenians responded readily. Pericles was seeking a method of harassing the Persians, and from the Athenian standpoint Egypt was an exceedingly good ally insuring Athens a plentiful grain supply. Accordingly, the Athenians sent a fleet of triremes (200 according to some sources,[23] 300 according to others[24]) under the command of Charitimides. Memphis was taken without difficulty by the allies, except for the fortress known as the "White Wall," which remained in Persian hands.[25] Both Achaemenes the satrap and Charitimides the Greek commander perished in the battle at Papremis which preceded the capture of the city.

Artaxerxes, on hearing the news, sent Megabazus to Sparta with a generous supply of silver. The Spartans, for a price, undertook to keep the Athenians busy at home, while the Persians sent an army to Egypt. The Spartans defeated the Athenians at Tanagra in 457, and in 456, Megabazus and Artabazus crossed the Egyptian border with a huge army. They met and defeated Inaros and the Athenians. Inaros was wounded and captured, and was sent to Artaxerxes at Susa and there executed.[26] The Greeks took refuge on an island, Prosopitis, where they were blockaded for a year and a half. Finally, the Persians

[20] Cameron, "Persepolis Tablets Old and New", *JNES,* XVII (July 1958), pp. 161-176.
[21] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.,* p. 1 et seq.
[22] Herodotos. i. 35; vii. 236.
[23] Thucydides. i. 104; Ctesias. *Persians,* Epitomy. 63.
[24] Diodoros. xi. 71.
[25] Herodotos. iii. 12-15; vii. 7; Isocrates. *On Peace.* 86.
[26] Herodotos. ii. 41, 140, 165; iii. 15 and 160; Thucydides. i. 109.

drained the canal which helped form the island by joining two branches of the Nile, and the Greeks, determined to risk everything on one last battle, burned their ships. They were defeated, and the Persians carried their generals off to Persia. A few of the Greeks escaped by way of Libya and Cyrene.[27]

Athens sent a relieving force consisting of 50 triremes but they arrived too late. The commander, still in ignorance of the fate of his fellow countrymen, sailed into the Mendesian mouth of the Nile. Arsames the new satrap surprised and destroyed the entire fleet.[28]

Amyrtaeus alone escaped. He hid in the Delta and succeeded in maintaining his independence until 449, when he asked Athens for further aid. Sixty triremes were sent, but were turned back before reaching the shores of Egypt.[29]

Athens signed the Peace of Callias in that year and cruelly abandoned her old ally. This calmed, though did not quell, the revolt. The Persians adopted a more conciliatory attitude, and sons of Inaros and Amyrtaeus were appointed to their fathers' old offices.[30] However, a certain Psamtik, possibly a second son of Amyrtaeus (?), continued to rule in independence in the Delta. He sent Athens a gift of 30,000 (other sources say 40,000[31]) bushels of grain in 445, doubtless asking for aid.[32]

Upon the death of Artaxerxes, dynastic quarrels broke out in Persia, and were only ended when Darius II (424-404) came to the throne. Ten years after his accession, the Egyptian war of liberation began.[33] The leader was a second Amyrtaeus, grandson of the first Amyrtaeus. Few details are known of the struggle for independence, but it had been achieved by 404.[34] Fortunately, Amyrtaeus had time to establish himself before meeting a Persian invasion. The delay in an attempt by Persia to recapture Egypt was caused by the death of Darius II, and the succession of Artaxerxes II. A further delay occurred when Artaxerxes' younger brother, Cyrus, revolted and attacked his brother, using among other troops, a large body of Greek mercenaries.[35] Cyrus was killed in battle, and the Greeks made their way back to safety. Diodoros says that their leader, Tamos, fled to "Psammetichos, King of Egypt."[36] Tamos is believed to have been an Egyptian promoted to high rank by the Persians. He was executed by Amyrtaeus—not Psamtik, as Diodoros mistakenly says—on his arrival in Egypt.

The Egyptian monuments say nothing of Amyrtaeus' reign, which

[27] Diodoros. xi. 77; Thucydides. i. 110.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Thucydides. i. 112; Plutarch. *Cimon.* 18.
[30] Herodotos. iii. 15.
[31] Plutarch. *Pericles,* 37.
[32] Philochorus. Fr. 90, *FHG,* I, p. 399.
[33] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri,* nos. 31, 32, 33, and 34.
[34] Xenophon. *Anabasis,* i. 14; v. 73.
[35] Xenophon. *Anabasis.* Passim.
[36] Diodoros. xiv. 35.

is curious. The Demotic Chronicle remarks only that he was the first to come after the Medes, and that his son did not inherit the throne. However he ruled all Egypt, for an Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine is dated to the fifth year of his reign.

Nepherites I (398-392) dethroned and succeeded Amyrtaeus, founding the XXIXth Dynasty. Nepherites allied himself with Sparta against the Persians, sending the Spartans grain, money, and ships. The 100 triremes sent by Egypt were a part of the fleet destroyed by Conon of Athens off Rhodes.[37] This check apparently disillusioned Nepherites considerably, and he contented himself during the rest of his reign with building, repairing and restoring monuments and public works in Egypt.

His son Akhoris (392-380) entered into yet another coalition against Persia. He first made an alliance with Athens,[38] but no military action resulted from it. Next, he went to the aid of Evagoras, king of Cyprus, who was involved in a struggle with the Persians. Akhoris sent grain and 50 triremes to Evagoras, who was also allied with Pisidia and Barce. The allies met defeat, and Evagoras fled to Egypt for refuge. Akhoris could not aid him further for he needed all his troops and supplies at home to defend Egypt against a Persian invasion which was threatening. Somehow and somewhere, he procured mercenaries part of whom were Athenians led by Chabrias. The Pisidians held part of the Persian forces in Asia,[39] and those sent to Egypt were not strong enough to force Akhoris' stout defense. After three years, the Persians retreated.

Psamut (380-378) ruled just over a year when Nepherites II replaced him on the throne (378). Nepherites was overthrown after four months by Nekhtenebef, Prince of Sebennytos, who founded the XXXth Dynasty.

Nekhtenebef (378-360) was not too well disposed toward the Greeks, for Athens had recalled Chabrias, abandoning her allies once more at Persia's demand.[40] And, now, when another Persian invasion threatened Egypt, she was bereft of allies.

Artaxerxes gathered a huge army, consisting of 200,000 men plus 20,000 Greek mercenaries, and putting it under the command of Pharnabazus, sent it against Egypt. Pharnabazus crossed the frontier and marched up to Memphis. There Pharnabazus and the Greek commander, Iphicrates, hesitated to attack the strong city defenses. This delay was fatal to them, for they were caught by the Nile flood. An Egyptian attack followed and they were put to rout.[41]

[37] Diodoros. xiv. 79; Justin. vi. 2. 2. [38] Aristophanes. *Ploutos.* 178.
[39] Theopompos, Fr. iii, *FHG,* I, p. 295; Diodoros. xv. 2-4.
[40] Xenophon. *Hellenica.* v. 1. 6 and 25; Plutarch. *Agesilaus.* 23. 3; Diodoros. xiv. 10. 3-4.
[41] Diodoros. xv. 42-43; Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh and the Land of Goshen, EEF* (1887), pp. 6, et seq.

Nekhtenebef increased the temple revenues, and was responsible for an enormous amount of building throughout Egypt. Traces of his architectural activity have been found at Bubastis, Memphis, Abydos, Karnak, Edfu, Tod and at Philae.

Toward the end of his reign, he associated his son the crown prince Tachos on the throne with him. Tachos (Djedhor) was obsessed with the idea of invading and destroying the Persian empire. To this purpose he sought to renew the Greek alliances which his father had abandoned. In 366 he sent envoys to Sparta bearing silver to Agesilaus to recruit new levies of Greek mercenaries.[42] A little later, he sent a similar embassy to Athens.[43] Immediately after he inherited the throne, in 361, he sent embassies for the second time to the two states.[44]

Agesilaus' reception of this embassy is best described by Xenophon:

> Subsequently when he was now about 80 years of age, he became aware that the king of Egypt was bent on war with Persia, and was possessed of large forces of infantry and cavalry and plenty of money. He was delighted when a summons for help reached him from the Egyptian king, who actually promised him the chief command. For he believed that at one stroke he would repay the Egyptian for his good offices to Sparta, would again set free the Greeks in Asia, and would chastise the Persian for his former hostility, and for demanding now, when he professed to be an ally of Sparta, that her claim to Messene should be given up.[45]

The latter part of this statement lets slip Agesilaus' true motive in joining the coalition.

Athens also responded to Tachos' request by sending Chabrias and some Athenian mercenaries. Both Agesilaus and Chabrias were chagrined when they saw one another. Tachos attempted to settle the problem of their jealousy by acting as commander-in-chief himself, making Agesilaus general of the mercenaries, and Chabrias commander of the navy. The total force consisted of about 80,000 Egyptian troops, 10,000 Athenian mercenaries and 1,000 Spartan hoplites. To a navy of 120 triremes was added 50 more sent by rebel satraps in Asia Minor. These rebels also sent a sum of 500 talents.[46]

Faced with paying and feeding this large force, Tachos saw his "plenty of money" rapidly vanishing. Chabrias is supposed to have put forward the plan whereby he might augment his revenues. According to [Aristotle]: "He (Chabrias) advised him to inform the priests that to save expense it was necessary to suppress some of the temples

[42] Xenophon. *Agesilaus.* ii. 27.
[43] *Corpus Inscriptionem Atticarum,* II, p. 60.
[44] Plutarch. *Agesilaus.* 36.
[45] Xenophon. *Agesilaus.* v. 28-29.
[46] *Ibid.;* Xenophon. *Cyropedia.* viii. 8. 4; Theopompos. Frs. 106 et seq., *FHG,* I, p. 263; Diodoros. xv. 91.

together with the attendant priests."[47] This, continued [Aristotle], caused the priests to make him gifts out of their private funds. Then he was to tell the priests to spend only one tenth of their former maintenance on the temples and to lend him the rest until he made peace with the Persians.

Moreover, each inhabitant was to contribute a stated proportion of his household and personal possessions; and when grain was sold, buyer and seller were each to contribute, apart from the price, one obol per artabe (about 50 quarts); while a tax of one tenth was to be imposed on profits arising from ships and workshops and other sources of gain.[48]

Tachos also requisitioned all the precious metals in Egypt.[49]

Thanks to these measures, Tachos was able to strike gold and silver coins with which to pay his mercenaries, who refused payment in kind.[50]

Ready at last, Tachos advanced into Syria at the head of his army, leaving his brother Tamôs in Egypt as regent. All went well at first, and the expedition penetrated into Syria. However at home in Egypt the people were groaning under the tremendous load of taxation placed on their shoulders, and the priests, smarting because of the confiscation of temple property, were eager to rouse them to rebellion. Tachos' brother, not wishing to lead the revolt himself, sent for his son Nekhtherheb who was with the army in Syria. A part of the army went over to Nekhtherheb immediately. Chabrias and the Athenians deserted and went home, while Agesilaus hesitated uneasily about what to do. Finally, he and his Spartans joined Nekhtherheb.[51] Tachos was forced to flee to the king of Persia he had so lately tried to attack.

Nekhtherheb had some difficulty overcoming certain city princes when he returned to Egypt, but with the aid of Agesilaus and the Spartans he established himself securely. He sent the Spartans home laden with gifts but Agesilaus died on the way.[52]

Revolts in Asia, probably stimulated and aided by Egypt, followed the defeat of Artaxerxes. Aristotle was arguing that the Greeks must aid the Egyptians and not allow them to be subdued again by the Persians, for: "Darius and Xerxes did not attack Greece until they had

[47] *Ps.* Aristotle. *Oeconomica.* ii. 25-37. The *Oeconomica* found in the writings of Aristotle is now attributed to a later author.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Polyaenus. iii. 11. 5-7.

[50] Chassinat, "Une monnaie d'or à légendes hieroglyphiques trouvée en Egypte," *BIFAO,* I (1901), pp. 78-86; VII (1910), pp. 165-167; Hill, "Tachos, King of Egypt," *BMQ,* I (1927), pp. 24-25; Milne, "The Currency of Egypt in the Fifth Century," *NC,* VI (1926), pp. 43-92.

[51] Some uncertainty concerning the order of succession of these kings has now been resolved. V. Clère, "A propos de l'Ordre de Sucession des Rois de la XXXe Dynastie," RE VIII (1951), pp. 25-29.

[52] Isocrates. *Philippic.* 101; Diodoros. xvi. 40, 46, 48; Tresson, "Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits," *Kêmi,* IV (1931), pp. 126 et seq.

taken Egypt; therefore, if the great king takes Egypt, he will also attack Greece."[53] Demosthenes, on the other hand, sneered at the men who were anxious to fight the Persians in Egypt.[54]

In 345, Artaxerxes returned to the attack. His army numbered more than 300,000 men, and he had a fleet of 300 triremes. He subdued Phoenicia, leaving Sidon in ruins, and turned toward Egypt.[55]

Nekhtherheb had an army of about 100,000 men (60,000 Egyptians, 20,000 Greeks, and 20,000 Libyans), and a fairly strong fleet. The Persians attacked Pelusium and were checked, for the defense was strong, and had Nekhtherheb followed the advice of his generals to take the offensive immediately, Egypt might have been saved.[56] Instead, trusting to a dream in which the god Onuris promised to save Egypt, he waited for the coming Nile flood.

The delay was fatal, for the Persian fleet bypassed the army, and passed upstream until they could fall upon the Egyptian rear. The Egyptians retired on Memphis, but the Greeks went over to Artaxerxes and joined him in ravaging the Delta. Pelusium, Bubastis, and other cities were looted.

Artaxerxes then laid siege to Memphis and took it. Nekhtherheb escaped and fled to Upper Egypt where he remained independent until 341.[57] Nothing is known of his ultimate fate.

Artaxerxes left Pherendares as satrap and returned into Persia. The Persians made no attempt to conciliate Egypt, and conditions were miserable. There were rebellions on all sides. An Egyptian official named Petosiris wrote in the year 340:

> I passed seven years as administrator of this god Thoth, administering his goods without any fault being found, although a king of a foreign land was in power over Egypt. And there was no one who was in his former place because of the struggles which occurred in the midst of Egypt; the south was in disorder, the north was in revolt. Men traveled in fear, and there was nothing in the temple which was at the disposal of those who deserved it. The priests were far distant and were ignorant of what took place . . . No work was done (in the temple) since the foreigners had come and had invaded Egypt.[58]

The Demotic Chronicle said: "The houses of the Egyptians had no men to live in them . . . the Medes had taken their houses and lived therein."[59] It continues with descriptions of the ravaged and profaned temples, the sacred images carried off to Persia, the massacres of the people, and the devastation of the country.

[53] Aristotle. *Rhetoric.* ii. 20. 3-4.
[54] Demosthenes. *Rhodians.* 3-4.
[55] Diodoros. xvi. 43-51.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Brugsch, *Thesaurus,* III, p. 549. Inscription of Nekhtherheb, year 18, at Edfu.
[58] Lefebure, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris,* I, pp. 3-5.
[59] Spiegelberg, *Demotic Chronicle,* pp. 14-22.

Naturally rebellion came quickly, but the name of only one leader is known, a certain Khabbash in the Delta. Apparently, the land was in such disorder that it was difficult for the rebel leaders to make contact with one another and act in concert. Nor were they able to make contact with the outside world.

A few prominent Egyptians managed to escape. One of these, Semtu-tefnakhte of Herakleopolis, joined Alexander at Issos and begged him to come to the relief of Egypt. Alexander doubtless intended to take Egypt, but Semtu-tefnakhte must have assured him of being welcome there.[60]

The Egyptians hailed Alexander as a saviour and deliverer when he entered Egypt in 332. He sought to maintain the good feeling by adopting the titles, prerogatives and responsibilities of Pharaoh, honoring Egyptian gods and customs, and trying to provide the Two Lands with a stable administration.

Alexander sought, before his departure from Egypt, to provide for secure government by a division of authority between native officials, Macedonians and Greeks. Financial affairs were controlled by Apollonios and Cleomenes of Naukratis. The latter used the opportunity to enrich himself at the expense of Alexander and of Egypt. Alexander did not take such peccadilloes lightly, but is said to have forgiven Cleomenes on condition that his ill gotten wealth be used in the construction of temples.[61] Otherwise, Alexander increased Egyptian prosperity by the foundation of Alexandria to replace the Phoenician port of Tyre, which he had destroyed, as a center of trade. He made no change in methods or rates of taxation or in the laws.

On the death of Alexander in 323, Egypt was gained by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's commanders. With him to Egypt came Macedonian and Greek followers, and with him also came Alexander's body to be buried in Alexandria with the utmost ceremony. A new era, not totally disconnected with the past indeed, but fraught nevertheless with change, began for the ancient land.

[60] Schäfer, *Aegyptiaca, Festschrift für G. Ebers,* pp. 92 et seq.

[61] But cf. Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* I, p. 40. Tarn rejects the tale of Alexander's forgiveness of Cleomenes.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS BASIS OF KINGSHIP

From the earliest times in Egypt kingship was both legal and hereditary. But both the legality and continuity of the monarchy depended on a widely held religious and historical belief. According to the myth of each important Egyptian god the earth and all its inhabitants were created by that god, with or without the help of other divinities. In view of the fact of creation, the creator rightly and legally ruled over his land and all his creatures. This explanation of the origin of all nature was not unique to Egypt but was common throughout the Near East. Yet Egypt's historical development led to a further evolution of the idea along unusual lines.

In contrast to the city-state organization of early Mesopotamia, and the consequent choice of human stewards to manage the gods' properties, Egypt early was united first into two large units, and later into one nation. In the pre-dynastic period two major geographical divisions seem to have formed in the Nile Valley. One of these, Lower or northern Egypt, included the Delta and the territory at its head where the city of Memphis developed. The other area comprised the southern section centering about the later city of Thebes and extending to the first cataract and the island of Elephantine. It was called Upper Egypt. In between the two centers lay a stretch of the river valley which was not irrevocably or indissolubly attached to either section, though it was more usually aligned with Lower Egypt from the Empire period onward. The exact boundaries, then, between the two areas were somewhat nebulous but the division was real and deep enough to exist through more than two thousand years of Egypt's history.

In part at least this historical cleavage was the result of religious difference. None of the great gods could accept a secondary position with relation to another. In vain did the priests of Ptah insist that Ptah created the gods and the earth and all therein, neither the priests nor worshippers of Rē', of Amen, of Osiris or of a host of other divinities would admit such a thing. Some other gods might be secondary (priests would willingly admit), but not Rē', Amen, Osiris, or whatever god they personally served. At most, and then reluctantly, some priesthoods and worshippers permitted an identification of two or more major gods for state reasons. Such a combination was attempted during the Empire between Amen and Rē', and again between Aton and Rē'. Neither identification was successful and neither achieved more than a very

limited meaning. In Upper Egypt, the Rē' part of the combination was ignored by priest and worshipper. In Lower Egypt, Amen received no honor. In the case of Aton-Rē, the beautiful god of love who was the creation of Ikhnaton, the death of his principal worshipper brought oblivion to the god. Rē' had never acknowledged Aton in Lower Egypt, and Rē's name was of no help to Aton. Each geographical region insisted stubbornly upon the retention of its own gods, and even though the worship of Amen came, during the Empire period, to dominate Upper Egypt, not even Amen could overcome or interfere in the devotions and rites of Osiris, Horus, Geb and others. Similarly in Lower Egypt Rē', for many centuries dominant in wealth and influence, could not displace Ptah, Neith, Bastet, Isis and the rest.

But if religion helped to divide Egypt, it also helped to unite it, or rather to preserve its unification after such unity was affected. Strong rulers from Lower Egypt forged a single country from the primitive "Two Lands" in the early dynastic period, and this early union continued for some hundreds of years through the Old Kingdom. The basic myth of creation was expanded and elaborated to explain and justify the political fact. The god(s), said the legends, after ruling his creation for many thousands of years tired of the work or wished to devote his attention to other matters. Therefore he(they) conceived a son and endowed him with the necessary attributes of divinity and with full authority to rule the Two Lands. During the Old Kingdom the kings principally honored Rē' and his son Horus, so that the inscriptions reiterate that the ruler was made "great on the throne of Horus like Rē' forever."[1] This concept reached its full development during the fifth dynasty according to Moret,[2] and the statements that the king was "Horus" and "Son of Rē' " became standard parts of the royal titulary. It was for this reason that an identification was attempted between Amen and Rē' when power shifted to the Princes of Thebes in the Middle Kingdom and Empire. The legal basis for the king's authority had come to be expressed by this device, and Rē's legend had to be attached to Amen and yet not detached from Rē'. Thus the Middle Kingdom and Empire Pharaohs bore the titles Horus and Son of Rē', yet compounded their personal names with "Amen" and told of their "conception by Amen" in reliefs and inscriptions.

Meanwhile Osiris, whose worship grew to be more nearly national than that of any other god, became involved also in the legal and hereditary foundations of Egyptian kingship, giving it greater strength than could have been derived from any one other source. In the Osiris myth the forces of Good, represented by Osiris, were in continuous struggle against the forces of Chaos and Evil embodied in the person of the god

[1] Lepsius, AZ VI (1868), p. 86.
[2] Moret, *Du Caractère réligieux de la royauté Pharaonique,* p. 320.

Set. Osiris, who was once the divine ruler of Egypt, was assisted by his wife Isis and later by his son Horus,[3] but Set through trickery slew Osiris, cut his body into small pieces and scattered it far and wide. Isis and her sister Nephthys, aided by Horus, searched until they recovered the entire corpse which they reassembled and restored to life, though not to life on earth. Osiris became the eternal king of the dead. Horus, who had grown to manhood and helped in restoring Osiris to life through magical means, succeeded to his father's earthly kingdom and took revenge on Set.

Confusion very naturally developed in the Egyptian's mind between the two Horuses, son of Rē' and son of Osiris, and this confusion extended to the divinity of the king. Which Horus was he? Frankfort correctly and thoughtfully pointed out that he was both of them at one and the same time[4] depending on how the king was being considered. Frankfort conceived that the basis for the continuity of the Egyptian kingship after the Old Kingdom lay in the continual, recurring cycle of the Horus-Osiris relationship. The dead king became Osiris. The living king was Horus, his son. But Frankfort noted also that

> . . . when the avenue of approach is not the king's place in the succession, or his relationship with the ancestral spirits, or the continuity of kingship; when, on the contrary, the king is considered in the fulness of his power—then he is Horus, the Great God (Son of Rē).[5]

However, certain additional points which were to the king's advantage and benefit, and which were derived from this identification of the two Horuses need to be pointed out. Frankfort's interpretation neglected the legality furnished by the legend of Rē' in favor of that residing in the myth of Osiris, but in reality either or both made the right of the king to rule completely secure. And both assigned him an important place in the divine order of nature as the Egyptian understood it. Yet each legend contributed something peculiar to the concept of kingship which kept both myths alive so long as a king occupied the throne of Egypt.

The solar mythology of Rē' could explain one very necessary fact relating to the kingship which was totally impossible of explanation within the framework of the Osiris legend; a dynastic change. Unlike Osiris, Rē' did not necessarily beget his son Horus by his legal wife. He both could, and did, visit another woman if he chose. The earliest example is found in the Papyrus Westcar from the Old Kingdom:

> . . . and his Majesty (King Khufu) said, 'Who, then, is it that shall bring them (some designs) to me?' And Djedi answered him, 'It is the eldest

[3] Another version of the myth has Horus begotten by the dead or dying Osiris.

[4] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 42.

[5] *Ibid.*

of the three children who are in the body of Red-djedet who shall bring them to thee.' And his Majesty said: 'Would that it may be as thou sayest. And who is this Red-djedet?' And Djedi replied: 'She is the wife of a priest of Rē' . . . and she has conceived these three sons of Rē' . . . and the god has promised her that they shall fulfill this noble office over all this land . . .[6]

Throughout Egyptian history the same fiction was resorted to in order to explain all dynastic or even inter-dynastic changes, though Amen takes the place of Rē' in and after the Empire period.[7] When Psamtik I gained control of Upper Egypt, the Adoption stele emphasized: "I (Psamtik) am his (Amen's) son, first in the favor of the father of the gods, offering to the gods; whom he begat for himself, to satisfy his heart."[8] When Cambyses was crowned with the double crown of Egypt the story was told once more, though Herodotos reports it in garbled form.[9] At the coming of Alexander, the Greek writers repeat very nearly the Egyptian original showing that it was necessary, or at least highly desirable, to make Alexander Pharaoh *de jure* as his conquest had made him *de facto* the ruler of Egypt. Nectanebos (Nekhtherheb) the last native pharaoh of Egypt, relates Plutarch, was a great magician who transported himself to Macedon where he visited Olympias in the guise of a snake and begat Alexander.[10] Coupled with the proclamation of Alexander's divinity as "Son of Rē' " at his coronation at Memphis, and his recognition as "Son of Amen" at Siwa, Plutarch's tale can only be a misunderstood restatement of the same Egyptian explanation which Hatshepsut gave during the Empire:

Amen took his form as the majesty of this her husband . . . then he went to her immediately; then he had intercourse with her . . . He said . . . 'Now Khenemet-Amen-Hatshepsut is the name of this thy daughter whom I haved placed in this body . . . She is to exercise this beneficent kingship in this entire land.[11]

In the case of Alexander's conception, the last reigning son of Rē' (or of Amen) had to embody the god rather than the unknown Philip of Macedon. It seems perfectly possible that the later tales of Alexander's divine origin which were attributed to Olympias all stem from the Egyptian source.

But if the Horus Son of Amen-Rē' myth were necessary to account for dynastic changes in legal fashion, the Horus Son of Osiris legend mightily reinforced the authority of the king with ethical and moral values. Horus Son of Osiris drove back Set, the force of Evil and

[6] Petrie, *Egyptian Literature,* p. 165. I have altered the spelling of proper names slightly to make them conform with others in my text.
[7] Wilson, *Urkunden* IV, pp. 218-221.
[8] Breasted, ARE IV, section 942.
[9] Herodotos iii. 2-4.
[10] Plutarch *Alexander.* ii. 111.
[11] Wilson, *loc. cit.*

Disorder. By his might the true, good world order was re-established. In Egyptian terms, "Maat was upheld." And while the Egyptian feeling for and belief in the divine world order did not stem directly from the Osiris cycle, that cycle fit into and formed a part of that order.

Rudolf Anthes in his discussions of the meaning and importance of "Maat" has correctly defined this word as the Egyptian concept of world order. He says in reference to the Old Kingdom:

> The idea of Maat primarily means the divine order of the world including the political, theological, and social order of Egypt . . . Therefore, from the beginning the rightness of man, his being m3ᶜ, depends upon the question whether or not he fits this order. This is a social question and therefore not answered by what he thinks of himself or by his own conscience directing him but by his reputation with his king and fellow citizens. On the other hand, only rightness enabled man to live after death. Any accusation brought forth against his life on earth was to be examined and judged in the court of the Great God.[12]

Elsewhere, Anthes points out that no modern language can properly translate Maat in one word or phrase. Neither "truth," "justice," "righteousness" or "order" gives the full meaning of the Egyptian word.[13] Perhaps "divine justice" in the Christian sense, or the Roman concept of *jus naturale* or *jus gentium* comes closer, since all three embody notions of God-given rightness and justice tempered with mercy and forgiveness.

In the Old Kingdom, says Anthes, man's conscience had to fit the rules of the social order. After the Old Kingdom and the breakdown of that social order, it was into the divine order that man's conscience had to fit.[14] And it was during this time of change after the end of the Old Kingdom that the deceased kings and other persons began to be identified with Osiris, and the phrase m3ᶜ ḫrw applied secondarily to Osiris in consequence.[15] But the general concept of a social order established by the gods, or Maat, was widely accepted by the end of the Old Kingdom and it involved a well understood relationship between gods and men, men and other men, and men and the rest of nature. Living by Maat, says Anthes, was apparently no matter of education[16] since Ptahhotep writes "Maat is the path before him who knows nothing."[17]

The king had his own particular place in this established order. He was classed with the gods, rather than with men, but he had a unique position in relation to the other gods and to man. As the only god on earth, he was responsible for the well being of the rest of the gods. He

[12] Anthes, JNES XII (Jan.-Oct. 1954), pp. 23-24.
[13] Anthes, Supplement to JAOS, no. 14 (April-June 1952), p. 2.
[14] Anthes, JNES, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[17] Wilson, *Ptahhotep*, ed. Devaud. 1. 91.

had to repay them for all of their gifts and favors. Rē', Amen or Osiris gave him Egypt and kingship over it. Ptah gave him wisdom, Thoth knowledge, and all gave him power, beauty, their authority to rule, and eternal life. In return he saw to their needs. He built and repaired their temples, supported their priesthoods with property endowments and saw to it that all proper respect was rendered to the gods by the people. Every offering was ordinarily made in the name of the king, and in Saite Egypt these gifts were made in great abundance.[18]

Likewise the king was charged with the well being and protection of the land of Egypt and with the safety and prosperity of its people. He owned all these by virtue of the divine endowment. But Pharaoh, the "Good God Horus," had to protect his property, the land and its inhabitants, from the forces of disorder and evil. He must "uphold Maat." Thus the entire structure of the divine world order rested primarily upon the shoulders of the king. He needed to be a god to discharge his responsibilities. "I am," said Psamtik I, "a son protecting his father, taking the inheritance of Geb, uniting the two portions as a youth."[19]

Only his Majesty could organize the complete resources of Egypt to discharge the purposes of gods and men. Only Pharaoh could mobilize the armies for war. Only the king could organize large scale mining, quarrying and building operations. The official Ibe reports to Psamtik I:

> Year 26, second month of the first season, day 3 . . . His Majesty sent those who were in his suite . . . of the Southland, prophets and priests of Amen and sacred women of Amen. They came saying: 'His Majesty has heard that the house of the Divine Wife of Amen is beginning to fall to ruin'.[20]

Ibe was instructed to make the necessary repairs and told that he had been delegated the necessary authority and would receive all necessary materials for the work. Again from the reign of Psamtik I, a Serapaeum stele records:

> In the year 52 under the majesty of this Good God [Psamtik I], came one to say to his Majesty: 'The temple of thy father, Osiris-Apis, and the things therein are beginning to fall to ruin. The divine limbs are visible in his coffin, decay has laid hold of his [mortuary] chests.' His Majesty commanded restoration in his temple, and that it should be more beautiful than that which was there before.[21]

In the desert quarries are the inscriptions and graffiti of the small armies of workers who provided the material, along with cartouches of royal names, records of officials and notations of the visits of inspectors. Re-

[18] V. *infra*, p. 64.
[19] Breasted, ARE IV, sect. 942.
[20] *Ibid.*, sect. 958 F and G.
[21] *Ibid.*

cent work in the Wadi Hammamat has revealed numerous inscriptions made by "Carriers of Amen" with cartouches of the Divine Wife beside them. "Carriers of Min" and of other gods left their records also. An inscription of a musician provides an interesting sidelight on the organization of these quarrying expeditions. Even more instructive is Goyon's publication of the records of inspection under the Persian rulers Cambyses, Darius I and Xerxes. For fifty-one years beginning in 524 and continuing until 473, regular quarrying operations were underway in the Wadi Hammamat under the supervision of the Persian governors.[22]

Building and quarrying operations were interrupted during the troubled period of rebellion against Persian rule, though Goyon reports one inscription which he identifies as that of Inaros.[23] The rulers of the Thirtieth Dynasty revived quarrying and building on a vast scale.[24] Thus the Pharaohs fulfilled their duty to the gods their fathers, and they failed in this duty only to their cost, as the later Persians and the Pharaoh Tachos discovered.

To fulfill his obligation to man, the Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, sought to maintain or increase justice, peace, security and economic prosperity. Psamtik I emphasized: "For I am a prince who loves Maat; my particular abomination is lying (or cheating). . .,"[25] while Udjahorresne as an official under Cambyses boasts of the good things he has done for the people of Sais, protecting the weak and helpless and caring for the gods, in the name of Maat.[26] Amasis was famed as a lawgiver and Darius I had the Egyptian law as it existed under Amasis codified and recorded.[27] Nekhtenebef was described as: "The Good God, the very brave, the destroyer who drives back the . . .; the wise and intelligent who fights for Egypt . . .; what he says takes place immediately, as what comes forth from the mouth of Rē'."[28]

When Pharaoh lived up to all of his responsibilities, when he "upheld Maat," he was addressed like Psamtik I as "the Goodly *Ka* by whom men lived."[29] This term has been defined by Vandier as the "divine creative force,"[30] and by Wilson as the "constructing and provisioning force" or "vital force." He says: "The ruler was thus seen as the constructive vital force of Egypt, creating and sustaining."[31] Such a king was felt to deserve, and was gladly given, the worship of his sub-

[22] Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres du Wadi Hammamat,* pp. 116-131.
[23] *Ibid.,* p. 131.
[24] Clere, RE VIII (1951), pp. 25-29 et al.
[25] Breasted, ARE IV, sects. 942-943.
[26] Posenor, *La première domination Perse,* pp. 1-26.
[27] Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik, Demotische Studien,* Heft 7, pp. 30-31.
[28] Naville, *Bubastis* I, EEF VIII (1891), p. 8.
[29] Breasted, ARE IV, sect. 942.
[30] Vandier, *La Religion Egyptienne,* p. 132.
[31] Wilson, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man,* pp. 85-86.

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jects. Tombs and temples were built for him[32] and he was buried with all the honors due to a god:

Year 7, first month of the first season, day 23, went forth this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands Psamtik (II) to heaven. He joined the sun, the divine limbs mingling with him who made him. Then there shone forth his son in his place, Horus: Enduring of heart, Nebty: Lord of Might, Golden Horus: Making Verdant the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Apries, Son of Rē': Wahibrē', who liveth.[33]

Even the usurper Amasis, to Herodotos' amazement, demanded and received the worship and respect of the people and was buried with the other Saite rulers in the Temple of Neith at Sais.[34] To explain this astonishing fact to his own satisfaction and for his Greek audience, he relates the following tale: Amasis, said Herodotos, was of low birth (which may or may not have been true[35]) and did not receive due respect from his subjects who knew of his origins. Whereupon Amasis had his bronze foot pan melted down and cast into the statue of a god. The people fell down and worshipped it. Amasis used this incident as an object lesson to command the respect due to him, proving that the end result counted rather than the origin.[36] Egyptian tales and traditions support Herodotos' description of Amasis as a *bon vivant* who nevertheless demanded respect and obedience and received both. The most charming is a tale from the Demotic Chronicle:

Once upon a time at the time of the Pharaoh Amasis, Pharaoh said to his nobles: I want to drink Egyptian *kolobi* wine. Then they said: Our great lord, it is hard (bad for you) to drink Egyptian *kolobi* wine. Then he said to them: Do not contradict what I tell you. Then they said to him: May Pharaoh do his will. Then said Pharaoh: Let us hurry to the lake. Then they did as Pharaoh had commanded. When Pharaoh was eating with his women, before them stood no wine in the world except Egyptian *kolobi* wine. Then Pharaoh was merry with his women [and] drank a very great quantity of wine because of the desire which Pharaoh had for Egyptian *kolobi* wine. Then Pharaoh went to rest in the same night by the lake. He slept under a grapevine on the north side. When it was morning, Pharaoh could not get up on account of his great hangover. As the time passed, he could not get up. Then the courtiers lamented saying: Is such a thing possible? It has happened that Pharaoh has a great hangover. No person in the world can go to speak with Pharaoh. Then the courtiers went to the place where Pharaoh was, and they said: Our [great lord], in what sorrow is Pharaoh? Then Pharaoh said: I have (only) a great hangover.

[32] Herodotos ii. 170-172.
[33] Breasted, ARE IV, sect. 988 E and F.
[34] Herodotos ii. 167. Cf. Kuentz, *Mon. Piot* XXXIII (1933), pp. 27-46.
[35] De Meulenaere thinks Herodotos may be right, but since Amasis was a general under Apries, it seems more likely that he was a member of the Delta nobility.
[36] Herodotos ii. 169.

[I can] not do any business in the world. But look and see if there is among you a man who can tell a story before me, so that I can take pleasure in it . . .[37]

In contrast, Diodoros presents a most depressing picture of one of the later Ptolemies, who obviously did not control the religious aspects of the Egyptian kingship but was rather controlled by them. It provides a most instructive and revealing insight into the strength of Egyptian religious belief which could force the Macedonian Ptolemies into conformity. It also illustrates the fundamental ideals of the good king, the dispenser of justice and supporter of gods and man, which had survived in Ptolemaic Egypt. Diodoros says:

. . . the life which the kings of the Egyptians lived was not like that of other men who enjoy autocratic power and do in all matters exactly as they please without being held to account, but all their acts were regulated by prescriptions set forth in laws, not only their administrative acts, but also those that had to do with the way in which they spent their time from day to day, and with the food which they ate. In the matter of their servants, for instance, not one was a slave as had been acquired by purchase or born in the home, but all were sons of the most distinguished priests, over twenty years old and the best educated of their fellow countrymen, in order that the king, by virtue of his having the noblest men to care for his person and to attend him throughout both day and night, might follow no low practices; for no ruler advances far along the road of evil unless he has those about him who will minister to his passions. And the hours of both the day and the night were laid out according to a plan, and at the specified hours it was absolutely required of the king that he should do what the laws stipulated and not what he thought best. For instance, in the morning as soon as he was awake, he first of all had to receive the letters which had been sent from all sides, the purpose being that he might be able to despatch all administrative business and perform every act properly, being thus accurately informed about everything that was being done throughout his kingdom. Then after he had bathed and bedecked his body with rich garments and the insignia of his office, he had to sacrifice to the gods.

When the victim had been brought to the altar it was the custom for the high priest to stand near the king, with the common people of Egypt gathered around, and pray in a loud voice that health and all the other good things of life be given the king if he maintains justice toward his subjects. And an open confession had also to be made of each and every virtue of the king, the priest saying that towards the gods he was piously disposed and towards men most kindly; for he was self-controlled and just and magnanimous, truthful, and generous with his possessions, and, in a word, superior to every desire, and that he punished crimes less severely than they deserved and rendered to his benefactors a gratitude exceeding the benefaction. And after reciting much more in a similar vein he concluded his prayer with a curse concerning things done in error, exempting the king from all blame therefor and asking that both the evil consequences

[37] Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

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and the punishment should fall upon those who served him and had taught him evil things. All this he would do, partly to lead the king to fear the gods and live a life pleasing to them, and partly to accustom him to a proper manner of conduct, not by sharp admonitions, but through praises that were agreeable and most conducive to virtue. After this, when the king had performed the divination from the entrails of a calf and found the omens good, the sacred scribe read from out of the sacred books some of the edifying counsels and deeds of their most distinguished men, in order that he who held the supreme leadership should first contemplate in his mind the most excellent general principles and then turn to the prescribed administration of the several functions. For there was a set time not only for his holding audiences or rendering judgments, but one for sleeping with his wife, and, in a word, for every act of his life.[38]

Diodoros continues by saying that all judgments, legal decisions, business transactions, and punishments had to be conducted according to the established laws relating to each of these actions.[39]

The religious concept of the Egyptian kingship provided a strong, enduring support which a ruler like Psamtik I, Amasis or Nekhtherheb could use to his enormous advantage. But it also fixed limits beyond which a king could not successfully go. If the ruler, like Tachos, failed in his obligations to gods and men he was deposed. He was not, in the words of the Demotic Chronicle, "on the way of the gods."[40] When Artaxerxes permitted the Egyptian to be treated unjustly, so that "The houses of the Egyptians had no men to live in them . . . The Medes had taken their houses and lived therein,"[41] rebellion broke out. These actions violated every cherished view of rightful order. Here was no Horus, son of Osiris. Here was no "Upholder of Maat." Here no responsible Horus, son of Rē', protecting and prospering the two lands. The force of this religious ideal was so deep, so intense that, as Diodoros' description indicates, it prevailed into the Ptolemaic period when, all physical struggle now ended, the gods of Egypt conquered the foreign rulers. The slow, gradual, relentless pressure of the priesthoods and of the Egyptian people molded the Macedonian kings to their ideal.

But the strong Saite rulers, especially Psamtik I and Amasis, and the kings of the Thirtieth Dynasty, with the exception of Tachos, made good use of the popular faith. Psamtik I may be said to have provided the basic pattern upon which all his successors built. Kienitz, followed by Yoyotte, has pointed out that "The Saite period was the personal and wholly individual creation of Psamtik I,"[42] though the political aspects of his policy chiefly interest Kienitz. Yet the texts already quoted from the reign of Psamtik showing him as the "son of Amen," "lover of Maat," "son of Osiris-Apis," builder of the gods' temples, and

[38] Diodoros i. 70.
[39] *Ibid.*, i. 71.
[40] Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[42] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Cf. Yoyotte, *Hist. Universelle, op. cit.*, p. 242.

as the "goodly *Ka* by whom men lived" all indicate the tremendous emphasis placed by Psamtik on the religious functions and duties of his office. Military strength and diplomatic statesmanship were necessary to his achievement of the religious kingship, but his continuance in office was largely dependent on his securing the recognition of the gods and the faith of the people. He had to restore the divine order to maintain the political union.

Only against the background of the religious as well as the political condition of Egypt can Psamtik's achievement be measured. No Egyptian ruler for generations had succeeded in holding together the Amen-state of Thebes and the Delta for any length of time. Previous attempts, such as the creation of the office of Divine Wife of Amen to break the power of the High Priests, had ended in disappointing failure. How could Psamtik succeed where all others had failed? It is significant that, as Yoyotte says, a great religious revival began—a religious revival which came to be a synthesis from all of the past, embracing the myths and liturgies of every nome (district).[43] The Egyptians, said Herodotos, are "religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men . . .,"[44] though by his time in the Persian period the affection of the average Egyptian for his god had been transferred to sacred animals. Still even then the Osiris, Isis, Horus trinity dominated over all other gods and goddesses in spite of the increase of animal worship. This great resurgence of religious feeling was encouraged and increased by Psamtik and his successors by several measures. One, the building and repair of temples has already been described, but equally important was the policy of granting land to certain nobles and officials provided they donated it to a temple of their choice. The noble, who became a priest, could enjoy the revenues of these lands, and even will the income to his descendants, but the land itself became temple property. The king could, in theory, assign the revenues also to the temple if the person enjoying them became refractory or was proved disloyal.[45]

Along with the religious revival, Psamtik and his heirs encouraged and promoted the artistic renascence which actually had its origins under the Ethiopian Piankhi.[46] But the Saite rulers actively directed the artists and architects to an interest in Egypt's great past. Yoyotte has characterized this art as "beautiful, sometimes sublime, . . . (its) classicism is a demonstration of a civilization incapable of renewing itself, but resolved not to die."[47] Models from the Old Kingdom were pre-

[43] Yoyotte, *ibid.*, pp. 250-251. Cf. Sauneron, *Les Prêtres de l'Ancienne Egypte (Bourges 1957)*, p. 43.
[44] Herodotos ii. 36.
[45] Kees, "Zur Innenpolitik der Saïtendynastie", NGWG (1935), p. 102. Cf. *Pap. Ryl.* IX.
[46] Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Vienna, n. d.), nos. 164 and 167 and Legrain, *Catalog du Musée du Caire,* III pls. 44 and 45.
[47] Yoyotte, *Hist. Univ., op. cit.,* p. 250.

ferred, though the Middle Kingdom sometimes served as a source of artistic inspiration. Hall summed up the extent and importance, though not the entire cause, of the archaism rather severely when he wrote:

> In the bitterness of subjection the Egyptians turned from the Empire towards the simple old days, as they seemed, of the Pyramid builders. Names and titles of that period reappeared, a kind of archaistic crusade sprang up, and eventually when Psamtik I restored the rule of the Pharaohs over the whole land, the archaistic mode was officially adopted by the state. It was as if a degenerate and worn out England . . . were to go back for her inspiration to the Anglo-Saxon period, were to imitate that period in every way, in art, costume, and in manners, to replace the dignitaries of the present day by "ealdormen", "jarls", and "thegns", and substitute for the Imperial Parliament an English comic-opera "Witenagemot".[48]

It does not seem to have occurred to Hall that the Saite Pharaohs encouraged the archaism for some extremely practical reasons. It has already been noted that the artistic renascence supported the very desirable religious revival. It may also have been part of a conscious attempt to revive Egyptian nationalism, and an Old Kingdom model was far more appropriate for Psamtik of Sais and Memphis to follow than the later Empire with its capital at Thebes. For the first time since the Old Kingdom, a Prince of Lower Egypt ruled over all of Egypt and Delta officials received choice appointments throughout the Two Lands. This symbolism was a way of saying to the Egyptian people: Here is your ancient land with its ancient customs which you still honor. Here are the gods and here is Horus the Pharaoh, come out of the north to lead you in union and peace as he did in the beginning of time. He will uphold Maat. Be proud of your land and its customs. Worship your gods and your king.

In practical terms, both the religious and artistic revival could serve as substitutes for, and aids toward developing, an ardent patriotism which was necessary for the preservation of Egyptian unity and security.[49] That this effect was produced, at least in part, seems proved by the fury and energy with which the Egyptian army fought Cambyses and by the popular rebellion and resistance during the Persian period.

To summarize, it was no less important to the Saite, Persian and last native pharaohs, and even to Alexander, to accept their roles as the Good God of Egypt and to fulfill their proper responsibilities in the divine world order than it was for any ruler of an earlier period. Possibly it was more necessary for the native rulers, in contrast to the foreign born, to emphasize their divinity as they strove to protect and unify the "Two Lands." The strength and force of the god-king tradition was such that it impressed itself even on the alien Greeks and

[48] Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 519.

[49] It is interesting to note that Nabunaid of Babylon sought to carry out a similar policy, and perhaps for the same basic reason.

Macedonians. The policies of Alexander in his attempts to unify his empire bear every mark of Egyptian influence. If a god could unify Egypt why not also an empire? And as Alexander was already the Horus of Egypt, he sought to become the divine ruler over all his subject peoples. Alexander, like any other Egyptian ruler was a god from birth to death in the Egyptian belief. He was the protecting deity of Egypt. Of him, as well as of any other Pharaoh, Frankfort might have written:

> It is wrong to speak of a deification of Pharaoh. His divinity was not proclaimed in a manner comparable to the *consecratio* of the dead emperor by the Roman senate. His coronation was not an apotheosis but an epiphany.[50]

No other text sums up the deep, abiding faith in the Egyptian's heart and mind that all would be well with his world if only the Good God were there than the pitiful cry during the last Persian conquest: "Oh Pharaoh, come do thy work."[51] And no fact is more significant to illustrate the same point than that the Macedonian Alexander was hailed as "Lord" and "Savior" when he delivered Egypt from those who were "not on the way of the gods."

[50] Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 5.
[51] Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

In discussing both the internal and foreign policies of Egypt during the Saite, Persian and Late Dynastic periods, some distinction must always be made between the motives governing rulers of native birth and those guiding the Persians or Alexander. A very obvious and very basic difference would lie in plans for defense, and another in the disbursement and disposition of tax moneys. However, because of the stability and effectiveness of the Egyptian economic, judicial and political organization so well established under the Saite rulers, the foreign kings made only superficial changes in any area outside of the military. For the most part therefore the policies to be considered in detail are those of the Saite period with changes duly noted where they occur.

Psamtik I of Sais had a herculean task to build a stable administration which would insure the unity of Egypt. His most pressing difficulty lay not in the danger from Assyria and Ethiopia, although that danger was not to be ignored, but in the existence of a number of powerful, princely houses both able and willing to dispute his right to rule. This "feudal nobility" had not only to be mastered but also to be used, and Psamtik seems to have made judicious use of force, diplomacy and a system of rewards.

Using Greek and Carian mercenaries with, apparently, the permission or approval of Assurbanipal, Psamtik overcame the city-rulers of the Delta and of Middle Egypt who refused him submission. Those who gave their support like Patesi of Herakleopolis and his son Semtutefnakhte were rewarded and honored. Not only were they confirmed in the governorship of their territories, but they and their families were given high office and trusted positions under Psamtik. The most obvious example of this practice is to be found in the annals of the Herakleopolitan family which is so well detailed in Papyrus Rylands IX.[1] Patesi, the city governor, was confirmed in his office and ruled Herakleopolis until he died, or resigned in favor of his son. Semtutefnakhte was made Admiral of the Nile fleet and Psamtik's chief commander. He was later honored with appointment as Psamtik's ambassador and representative at the adoption ceremonies of Nitocris in Thebes, and possibly also accredited as ambassador to Ethiopia.[2] He later became governor of Herakleopolis in his father's place while retaining his naval command, by virtue of which he controlled the river banks and ports of Upper

[1] *Pap. Ryl.* IX, *passim.*
[2] *Supra,* Chap. II, p. 23.

Egypt at least. In addition to all these honors, younger members of the family were given position and security within the priesthoods where they were endowed with the income from certain property. A Patesi, relative of the governor Patesi (possibly a nephew or younger son?) and ancestor of the author of Papyrus Rylands IX, was the holder of such a benefice.

Similarly other nobles from Lower Egypt received titles and trusted positions. Nesnaüiaü became nomarch (governor) of Edfu, Commander of the garrison at Elephantine and chief priest of Horus the Behdetite (Horus of Edfu). His descendants continued to receive important posts in Upper Egypt, in Edfu and at Thebes. Psamtik extended this same policy to Upper Egypt, recognizing and honoring Mentuemhat of Thebes and confirming him in all of his offices.

However Psamtik was neither blind nor overly trustful in his system of rewards. None of the offices or commands which he gave were legally hereditary, and he was careful to divide authority as much as possible. Even Semtutefnakhte, probably Psamtik's most powerful and most trusted single official and the one with the greatest potential for independent action, was invisibly hedged with safeguards. To the north of his headquarters at Herakleopolis resided Psamtik himself with his strong body of mercenaries. To the south was Mentuemhat of Thebes who must have been exceedingly jealous for his own power. Yet farther south was Nesnaüiaü with an army, ostensibly to guard the Ethiopian frontier but readily available for action elsewhere.

As Kees emphasizes, Psamtik constructed a careful balance or division of power, military and civil, over which he retained a firm control.[3] The details of this careful arrangement are clearer in Upper Egypt than in the Delta area, and deserve to be considered with some attention.

After gaining firm control over the Delta and Middle Egyptian princes prior to 655,[4] Psamtik put into effect the agreement already negotiated with Mentuemhat of Thebes. Nitocris, transported by the royal navy and accompanied by a huge retinue, sailed for Thebes:

> The commander thereof was the Sole Companion, Nomarch of Herakleopolis, Commander in Chief of the Army, Chief of the Harbors, Semtutefnakhte. Messengers sailed to the South, to make splendid provision before her. Sail was set . . . The great men took their weapons, and every noble had his provision, supplied with every good thing: bread, beer, oxen, geese, dates, herbs and every good thing. One transferred [her] to his neighbors until she reached Thebes.[5]

[3] Kees, NGWG (1935), pp. 97-98. It was earlier believed that Semtutefnakhte was deprived of his office by Psamtik and replaced by the official Hor, but this has been disproved. Hor is now dated to the Fourth Century. V. Vercoutter, BIFAO XLIX (1950), pp. 86-114.

[4] *Supra*, Chap. II, p. 19.

[5] Breasted, ARE IV, sect. 944.

It was a splendid and exciting occasion, and though obviously prepared for trouble since the "great men took their weapons," everything passed off peacefully and magnificently. On the arrival of the Princess at Thebes, she was received with impressive ceremony by Mentuemhat and the aged Shepenupet II. Nitocris was formally adopted by Shepenupet as her heiress and successor, but she was immediately and legally endowed with the lands and revenues of Amen. At the same time, she was endowed with enormous properties "both up the river and down" by her father Psamtik, though some of these revenues were doubtless to be enjoyed by members of her suite through a legal arrangement, in the same fashion that Mentuemhat and other priests of Amen lived on the property of that god.

The size of Nitocris' retinue is interesting and significant, since it introduced a large number of important, well-to-do, Lower Egyptian dignitaries into Thebes. These men became Nitocris' trusted advisors, and they were in no way tied to Thebes and Upper Egypt. Since even their revenues came from properties outside the Theban area, properties which were quite literally at the mercy of Psamtik, they did not waver in their loyalty to the Princess or her father. It was customary for the Divine Wife of Amen to have a "Majordomo" or "Chief Steward." The holder of this position before the adoption of Nitocris was either an Ethiopian or a Theban loyal to the Ethiopian regime, a certain Akhamenron. After the adoption, and simultaneous dispossession of Amenardis, Akhamenron quite literally drops from sight. The first Majordomo under Nitocris seems to have been an official named Pabasa, about whom little is known, but after 638 the position was occupied by the able and loyal Ibe, who was almost certainly of Lower Egyptian origin.[6]

Mentuemhat retained his post as governor of Thebes, and boasts that he exercised his powers over "all of Upper Egypt."[7] But in reality, his civil functions were not extended over more than three of the seven Upper Egyptian nomes,[8] and his military powers were apparently nonexistent. Kees agrees with Ranke[9] that civil authority in Upper Egypt was divided as follows: three nomes controlled by Mentuemhat, three by Semtutefnakhte and one by Nesnaüiaü. There is also agreement that Psamtik counter-balanced this arrangement by sending officials from Lower Egypt to serve as city-governors or, in Ptolemaic terminology, "strategoi," thereby strengthening and centralizing the administration. The Ptolemies found this administration in the Thebaid south to Hermopolis, in Kees' opinion, and simply retained it.[10]

[6] Christophe, "Les trois derniers grands majordomes de la XXVIe dynastie", ASAE LIV (1957), pp. 83-100.
[7] Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher,* pp. 350-358.
[8] Kees, *op. cit.,* p. 101.
[9] Ranke, AZ XLIV (1907-1908), pp. 45-54.
[10] Kees, *op. cit.,* p. 96.

Reference has already been made both to the division of military authority and to the encouragement of the practice of endowing temple lands. The latter of course served a double purpose, one to aid in the religious revival and the other to prevent any increase in power by the feudal nobility. Significantly, Semtutefnakhte, Nesnaüiaü, Mentuemhat and Ibe were all priests enjoying revenues from temple lands. The practice was continued and may be traced in the inscriptions of numerous officials under the succeeding Saite pharaohs.[11] The resulting power and wealth of the priesthoods were not dangerous to the authority of the Saite rulers, possibly because there were too many temples with diverse interests and diverse gods, and because priests could be employed as military and civil officials by the kings. But under the Persians and under Tachos the priesthoods spearheaded resistance and revolt.

There is also a suggestion by Jelinkova-Reymond that corruption had arisen within temple administration by the time of Apries due to the practice of combining priestly and civil functions in the same official.[12] He further suggests that the legal and administrative reforms credited to Amasis were at least partly concerned with a reorganization, possibly involving extensive change, in temple administration. He finds support in the inscription of Pef-tu-Neith (Statue A93 of the Louvre) who was sent to Abydos by Amasis. Pef-tu-Neith reports:

> . . . I have made the report about the affairs of Abydos in the royal palace so the king might hear. His Majesty has ordered me to carry out the work at Abydos to restore Abydos. I have done much to relieve Abydos, putting in order its affairs, having spent wakeful nights in my search for good things for Abydos. I begged and pleaded before my master daily so that Abydos would be restored . . . (a long recitation of building and construction details follows) . . . I have repressed the delinquencies in the Abydian nome and I have reestablished security in the whole nome. I have reestablished protection for all the inhabitants. I have returned all the products from the Thinite Desert to the temple that I found in the possession of the nomarch to bury the inhabitants of the Abydian nome.[13] I have replaced in the temple the "Bark of Abydos" which I took from the possession of the nomarch. . .[14]

It is impossible not to agree with Jelinkova-Reymond that the text of Pef-tu-Neith indicates something more than rebuilding and reconstruction. Corruption and financial abuses had evidently multiplied at Abydos, and the nomarch had been guilty of grave offenses. However, it is impossible to determine with certainty whether these abuses arose before or during the civil war between Apries and Amasis, which was of course further complicated by Nebuchadrezzar's invasion. Jelinkova-

[11] *Ibid., passim.*

[12] Jelinkova-Reymond, "Quelques récherches sur les réformes d'Amasis," AS LIV, fasc. 2 (1957), pp. 251-274.

[13] Evidently stone was provided to the poorer citizens for burial purposes.

[14] Jelinkova-Reymond, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-279. My translation from his French.

Reymond cites two inscriptions from the reign of Apries which speak of "ameleorating the condition of the temples," one of which is by the same Pef-tu-Neith. The text is fragmentary, but it indicates that he carried out a reorganization at the temple of Atum at Heliopolis in a mission similar in character to the one he executed at Abydos.[15]

If a condition of corruption in temple administration existed under Apries prior to the civil war, it must have been due to abuses arising from the practice of making temple endowments whose revenues were assigned to civil officials who were holders of merely nominal priesthoods. Certainly it is obvious, not only from the text of Pef-tu-Neith but from the continuation in office of the powerful families of Thebes and Herakleopolis, that the nomarchs and governors were more interested in the priestly revenues than in the functions of that office. Descendants of Mentuemhat and of Semtutefnakhte continued to hold high offices in Egypt, though not always the same positions filled by their fathers. Mentuemhat's son was not appointed in his place, but retained other offices including a priest's benefice. A Semtutefnakhte, Prince of Herakleopolis, greeted Alexander. These men and the many others in like circumstances looked upon the temple revenues as one of their principal sources of personal income, and as being their just reward for the performance of official duties. It would not be at all surprising for abuses to arise under the circumstances.

In Lower Egypt, administrative practices under Psamtik I may have differed somewhat from those devised for Upper Egypt. A different set of circumstances makes this probable. After securing control by a combination of diplomacy and military force, Psamtik was obliged to depend on loyal men of Lower Egypt to secure the Thebaid, and therefore the Delta nobility, though undoubtedly subject to careful checks and balances by the king, may have retained a stronger hereditary position than did the Upper Egyptian nomarchs. Unfortunately no inscription has been found of such a city-governor from the reign of Psamtik I, but one from the period of Necho and another from the reign of Psamtik II express a rather boastful semi-independence. Udjahor wrote: "Revered by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Uhemibrē' . . . Hereditary prince and repat-hatia . . ."[16] And in a similar vein Neferibrē'-nefer boasted: ". . . to whom the Two Lands recount their hearts and repeat to him all their thoughts, [who pleases] King Neferibrē' by doing that which is his desire . . ."[17] Both these men, like the later Nesu-Hor under Apries,[18] and Psamtik-si-Neith[19] and Udjahorresne[20] under Amasis, were probably members of the hereditary Delta

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 273. Cf. Gunn, ASA XXVII (1927), pp. 210-237.
[16] Breasted, ARE IV, sect. 980.
[17] *Ibid.*, sect. 982.
[18] Kees, AZ LXXII (1936), pp. 40-52.
[19] Ranke, MDIC XII, fasc. 2 (1943), pp. 135-138.
[20] Posenor, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-26.

nobility. Amasis himself may well have been one of these "hereditary princes" before his rebellion against Apries.

It has usually been assumed that Psamtik I and his Saite successors maintained strong mercenary forces because of their fear of danger from abroad. Certainly danger existed for Egypt, first from Ethiopia and Assyria, later from Babylonia and finally from Persia, but the international situation was not so continuously acute that it warranted the maintenance of large bodies of foreign troops on a permanent basis. Yet Apries apparently had thirty thousand Greek mercenaries on hand when rebellion rose against him. And Amasis maintained a force of Greek soldiers ready for action and stationed in Memphis even after the defeat and death of Apries, and after the settlement with Nebuchadrezzar. It seems clear likewise from Herodotos' remarks that Greek forces were stationed at the frontier posts, and perhaps elsewhere,[21] during the reigns of the first Saite kings. Is it not possible that these troops were maintained partly to prevent treachery on the part of the hereditary princes? The actions of Amasis against Apries, to say nothing of the treason of Udjahorresne against Psamtik III, could not have been anticipated by the Pharaohs, but the thoughtful Psamtik I could not have been unaware of such a possibility.

The needs of Egypt for defense were fairly simple, though the disposition of forces varied in accordance with the nationality and aims of the Pharaohs. That is, a native ruler responsible for the protection of Egypt alone would make arrangements of a different type than would a Darius I or Alexander, both of whom saw the Two Lands as part of a huge empire. Geographically the country was well provided with natural frontiers and natural defenses against ancient armies. Both Alexander and the later Roman emperors were struck with this fact.[22] With deserts to the east and west, only certain routes of approach were feasible for the passage of a large force, though Herodotos says that Cambyses made use of an unusual desert route by means of enormous advance preparation for supplies of food and water.[23] But by the establishment and maintenance of strong frontier posts from which regular patrols could be made Egypt was well protected. Herodotos writes:

> Three garrisons were maintained in Egypt at that time (under Psamtik I), one in the city of Elephantine against the Ethiopians, another in the Pelusiac Daphnae against the Syrians and Arabians, and a third against the Libyans in Marea. The very same posts are to this day occupied by the Persians, whose forces are in garrison both in Daphnae and in Elephantine.[24]

[21] Herodotos ii. 30.

[22] The emperors of Rome permitted no Senator to enter Egypt without express permission because of its grain, its wealth and the ease with which it could be defended. They wanted no possible rival in the country.

[23] Herodotos iii. 11-12.

[24] *Ibid.*, ii. 30.

A more imaginative, as well as traditional, measure of defense appealed to every native Egyptian ruler past or present; a forceful effort to control the Gaza strip and as much of the South Syrian area as possible. If the attempt at direct control was ineffective, Egypt sought to create or bolster buffer states. When this policy failed, as it largely did against Nebuchadrezzar, the Egyptian rulers sometimes turned to the fomentation of rebellion and turmoil among the native princes. Interference in Palestine and Syria, usually from a concept of defensive necessity, played a large part in the policies of Psamtik I, Necho, Apries and even the later Tachos. It is unlikely that imperialistic dreams guided Psamtik I, though the case may have been different with Necho, and possibly with Apries and Tachos. But even if these pharaohs dreamed of the conquest of Palestine and Syria, the well-being of Egypt yet remained the center of their vision.

Entirely different motives ruled the Persian monarchs and Alexander. Having already conquered Palestine and Syria, their problem was to hold and protect Egypt, which was rightly regarded as one of the most valuable of their provinces, primarily from internal rebellion. They had little to fear from a foreign enemy, with the possible but improbable exception of Ethiopia. Their continued use of the border fortifications, with the exception of Elephantine, must therefore have been due largely to convenience. Fortifications and living quarters were already available. The Persians, however, maintained garrisoned fortifications in Memphis (the "White Wall"[25]) and probably elsewhere in Egypt. Undoubtedly Alexander continued to use their installations.

Large numbers of mercenary troops were used by the native pharaohs, and their armies were a conglomerate of many nationalities.[26] But during the Saite period, the native Egyptians were organized and commanded separately from the foreigners,[27] though both natives and foreigners had Egyptian commanders. The pharaohs of the XXXth Dynasty, however, made use of Greek generals. Tachos, for instance, gave commands to Chabrias of Athens and Agesilaus of Sparta. According to Herodotos, the Egyptian soldiers were of two hereditary classes, the Hermotybies and the Calasiries.[28]

The Persian rulers made use of Egyptian naval forces, but little use of Egyptians in their armies.[29] They employed Jewish mercenaries at Elephantine,[30] and probably made use of hired soldiers of other nationalities in addition to Persian troops at their other garrison posts. Alexander left small garrisons of Macedonians in Egypt, under Macedonian strategoi. What use he made of Egyptian naval or land forces inside or outside Egypt is not clear.

[25] Herodotos iii. 12-15 and vii. 7.
[26] Jeremiah 46:9.
[27] Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, pp. 12-13.
[28] Herodotos vii. 89-90 and ix. 32.
[29] *Ibid.*, ix. 32.
[30] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri, passim.*

In addition to problems of defense, the Egyptian pharaohs had perforce to give considerable attention to matters of law and justice, finance and administration. It is plainly apparent from Papyrus Rylands IX that the king was the final "court of appeals," though during the Persian period the Satrap exercised the king's function.[31] The king was also the "lawgiver" and Amasis was famed by the Greeks for his legal reforms. However, Seidl points out that neither Amasis nor any other Pharaoh could have made a clean break with tradition in legal matters. He was, writes Seidl, "strongly curtailed in his free-will through ceremonial law and ritual limitations."[32] Yet the king had freedom of interpretation and modification within this framework of tradition, or Maat. Appeals could be made freely to the king on even minor matters, and his decisions could be freely given. These decisions often involved the interpretation of his own laws and could reverse the actions and decisions of his delegated officials. Nor was there apparently any limitation to the right of appeal, other than the refusal of the king to rehear the case.[33]

In matters of finance, the pharaohs had two avenues to explore: taxation and the sale of Egyptian produce abroad. Both served to produce an enormous income for the king of Egypt. A percentage of produce was collected from the royal estates and from the independent middle class landowner. Seidl believes that there was also a sales-tax, or more accurately a "buyer's tax."[34] Certainly Tachos is known either to have instituted such a tax or to have increased one which already existed. The temples were ordinarily exempt from royal taxation, yet they themselves collected a tax on any of their property which was leased to private persons.[35] But in times of danger the temples could be taxed, and sometimes these taxes remained in force for the smaller temples though the larger ones resumed their exempt status at the end of the national emergency.[36]

Revillout, after a careful study of the Demotic contracts, concluded that the affairs and property of the middle class were almost entirely free from royal supervision or interference. The small proprietors paid taxes and were subject to a *corvée* for canal work, but they seemed to be able to own land and to dispose of it freely.[37] The legislation responsible for this situation has been attributed to the XXIVth dynasty Bocchoris,[38]

[31] Griffith, *op. cit.*, Pap. Ryl. IX, *passim.*
[32] Seidl, *Agyptische Rechtgeschichte der Saiten- und Perzerzeit.* AF (Gluckstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1956), p. 30.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33. Seidl is examining Papyrus Rylands IX in detail and analyzing it to determine legal practices.
[34] Seidl, *loc. cit.*
[35] Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases,* SAOC, no. 28 (Chicago, 1952), *passim.*
[36] Griffith, *op. cit.*, Pap. Ryl. IX, 6, 15.
[37] Revillout, RE II (1881), pp. 52-65.
[38] *Ibid.*

and in the opinion of Drioton and Vandier applied only to small landowners.[39] Yoyotte remarks that it is difficult to reconcile this reputed legislation with the practice of voluntary slavery (for a limited term of service) to escape debt.[40] Yet the two can be reconciled by assuming a distinction between landowners and tenants.

Tariffs and customs duties brought additional revenue to the royal treasury, as did monopolies on certain products. Amasis occupied himself actively with the tax question according to Herodotos. "Amasis imposed this law upon the Egyptians: that every Egyptian must declare to his nomarch yearly what were his means of existence during the year, and whether or not his resources were honestly gained . . ."[41] Drioton and Vandier assume that the purpose of Amasis was to impose an income tax upon his subjects,[42] though other possibilities cannot be entirely ruled out.

Seidl remarks, from his study of Papyrus Rylands IX, that the tax burden throughout the entire Saite and Persian periods was crushingly heavy, so much so that farmers fled to the towns and were forcibly captured and returned to the land by the nomarchs.[43]

The Egyptian pharaohs received most of their revenues in produce which had then to be disposed of commercially by their agents. It was undoubtedly this need which prompted both Saites and Persians to make explorations and to keep open the Nile-Red Sea canal. Necho's explorations of the African coastline did not apparently bear practical fruit, but the route to India mapped by Darius I probably became quite valuable in time. Both native and Persian rulers showed themselves active in improving and protecting trade routes for Egypt. Naval forces received considerable attention from Saites and Persians alike, and the Persians relied largely on an Egyptian fleet to augment their forces at Salamis,[44] and elsewhere.

The Persian rulers, especially Cambyses and Darius I, were necessarily concerned with repairing some of the damage caused by the conquest. Temples had been pillaged, towns plundered or partly destroyed, and business life disrupted. Cambyses ordered all soldiers to leave temple precincts (at least in Sais) and commanded that all damages were to be repaired,[45] though temple revenues were cut in half. He resumed quarrying operations for this purpose just before his departure from Egypt.[46] Following the policies of his father Cyrus,[47] Cambyses sought to allow the Egyptians every religious and domestic freedom which did not conflict with Persian interests. Egyptian officials, such as Udjahor-

[39] Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 559.
[40] Yoyotte, *Hist. Univ., op. cit.*, p. 249.
[41] Herodotos ii. 177.
[42] Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 559.
[43] Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 31 on Pap. Ryl. IX. 7. 10.
[44] Herodotos vii. 89-90, and ix. 32.
[45] Posenor, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-16.
[46] Goyon, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[47] Ezra and Nehemiah, *passim.*

resne, were maintained in office, and no change was made in the method of tax collection. When Cambyses left Egypt, he appointed Aryandes as satrap to carry out these policies.

Little is known of Aryandes' actions other than his expedition against Barce,[48] and his reputed coinage of an extraordinarily pure silver money,[49] no example of which has ever been found.

Apparently a conscientious governor, Aryandes remained Satrap for several years after the accession of Darius.[50] Darius ordered him to assemble all the principal men of Egypt to write down the laws, reinstated some of the temple revenues, built a temple at El Khargeh, and made other concessions to Egyptian feeling. These measures served to lessen some of the rising discontent in the country. But the Egyptian still felt that most of his money was going to enrich the foreigners, for Egypt's tribute (tax rate) was the second highest of all the satrapies in the empire. The Province of Libya, which included Cyrene, Barce, and Egypt paid 700 talents yearly.[51] Egypt also was assessed the profits from the leased fisheries on Lake Moeris, which Herodotos says amounted to 1 talent daily when the flow was outward to the Nile, and 1/3 of a talent daily when the flow was reversed,[52] and 120,000 measures of grain to be furnished to the garrisons within the country.[53] These added duties probably brought the rate up to the 1,000 talents paid by Babylonia.

Thus the Persians were draining wealth in the form of precious metal out of Egypt at the rate of almost 1,000 talents a year, and, as Olmstead says: "Little of this vast sum was returned to the Satrapies. It was the custom to melt down the gold and silver and to pour it into jars which were then broken and the bullion stored. Only a small portion was ever coined . . ."[54]

The Egyptians were well aware of the true state of affairs, and dissatisfaction grew daily. When the opportunity came after the Persian defeat at Marathon they revolted. Athens, one of the best customers for Egyptian wheat, gladly aided them. The Persians defeated the Athenian-Egyptian allies but never really controlled the entire country again. Confusion reigned. Contemporary Egyptian records do not exist, but the Aramaic documents written by a colony of Jewish mercenaries stationed at Elephantine serve to gage the feeling of the surrounding Egyptian population. These papyri record the business and political life of Jews who were a part of the Persian garrison force on the Nubian frontier. At first, the Jews and Egyptians seemed friendly

[48] Herodotos iv. 165.
[49] *Ibid.*, 166.
[50] Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Expedition," *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), p. 373.
[51] Herodotos. iii. 89-90.
[52] Herodotos. ii. 149.
[53] Herodotos. iv. 166.
[54] Olmstead, *History of Persia*, p. 298. Herodotos (ii. 139) mentions that the Egyptian talent contained fifty-six (56) pounds of silver.

enough.[55] There were intermarriages between the two peoples and normal business relations. Slowly Egyptian resentment and hatred grew with the passage of the years, until it culminated in the destruction of the Jewish temple by a band of Egyptian conspirators. In the fifth year of Amyrtaeus II, after the successful war of liberation, the Aramaic papyri cease; whether the colony was destroyed, or whether it simply melted into the surrounding population is impossible to determine.[56]

The dynastic quarrels of the XXVIIIth, XXIXth, and XXXth Dynasty Pharaohs prevented the establishment of the stability and order achieved by the Saite nomarchs. They were, however, more powerful than one is apt to realize, unless the mighty quarrying and building operations which they completed are seen, or the numerous times they drove back the Persian attempts to regain Egypt are remembered. Their chief weakness lay in their inability to oppose the rise of a powerful nobility, and a powerful priesthood, members of which were thrice successful in deposing the reigning Pharaoh.

One of the successful usurpers was Nekhtenebef, Prince of Sebennytos. Almost his first act after he gained the double crown was to issue a decree giving one tenth of all duties collected at Naukratis, consisting of customs, tariffs, and taxes on manufactured articles, to the goddess Neith at Sais.[57] There is no evidence to guide us in determining the date that these taxes were imposed. Nekhtenebef was not responsible for their imposition. He merely directed that a part of the revenues derived from them be devoted to a specific (and probably different) purpose. It is possible that Amasis had imposed these taxes and tariffs in his general reform of the revenues, and as a part of his policy in pacifying the Egyptian nationalists. He was responsible for settling the Greeks in Naukratis, forbidding them to trade elsewhere, a measure which would facilitate the imposition and collection of such a tax.[58]

Most of the other inscriptions from the reign of Nekhtenebef are from the quarries or the temples, witnessing his widespread activities in buildings and repairs. His financial management of Egypt was evidently most capable and forceful, for Tachos was able to attempt an invasion of Persia because of his father's well filled treasury.

Tachos soon found, however, that when faced with the necessity for paying armies of rapacious Greeks, the treasury's cash resources rapidly dwindled, and rather than give up his cherished dream of destroying the Persian Empire, he foolishly followed Chabrias' short-sighted advice, confiscating, requisitioning, and taxing heavily both the temples and the

[55] Yoyotte differs with this interpretation, believing ill feeling to have been constant due to the Jewish failure to assimilate into Egyptian culture. *Hist. Univ., op. cit.*, pp. 245-246.

[56] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, passim.*

[57] Erman and Wilken, *AZ*, 38 (1900), pp. 127-135.

[58] But cf. discussion in Chapter VII, note 20 wherein the possibility of the existence of a customs bureau previous to the Saite period is noted.

people. His taxes on the buying and selling of grain must have increased the cost of living tremendously for the average Egyptian.

Priests and people combined to expel him, after his departure with the army into Syria, and with some difficulty his nephew Nekhtherheb established himself as Pharaoh.

Nekhtherheb restored temple property and was very active in rebuilding, repairing and building new temples all over Egypt. Since this Pharaoh met with the hearty approval of the Demotic Chronicle, he probably removed the burdensome taxes and made every effort to soothe the priests and people.

The last period of Persian rule was one of hopeless confusion and terror for the Egyptians. Pherendares, the Satrap, made little or no effort to restore order. The land was simply plundered.[59] Insurrection developed immediately. Khabbash in the Delta succeeded in making himself recognized as king at Memphis,[60] and some of his struggle is described in a stele of the Satrap.[61] Khabbash maintained his independence for two years before obscurity hid his fate.

The news of the advance of Alexander reached Egypt a few years later. A prominent Egyptian, Semtu-tefnakhte of Herakleopolis and descendant of Psamtik I's great admiral, set out to join him. He fought on the side of Alexander at Issos, and begged Alexander to come and free Egypt, assuring him of his welcome.[62]

Alexander seems to have made every effort to gain and keep the good will of his new subjects. He was crowned Pharaoh at Memphis, which was of much more importance to the Egyptians than his reception at Siwa. Ammon (Amen) of Siwa was patronized almost entirely by Libyans and the Greeks of Cyrene and Barce, and meant very little in Egypt where the worship of Amen had declined, even in Amen's old territory around Thebes.[63] The priests of Amen at Siwa could not do otherwise than hail Alexander as the "son of Amen," for was he not already so? He had been declared Pharaoh by his coronation at Memphis, and this coronation automatically made him the son of all the gods of Egypt. The effect of this pronouncement at Siwa, then, was visible only on the Greek world. The Egyptians had already recognized his divinity.

Alexander founded his city Alexandria to take the place of the great port of Tyre, which he had destroyed. He organized the administration of the Two Lands along native Egyptian lines.[64] According to Tarn, he retained most of the native officials, and, instead of a Satrap, ap-

[59] Spiegelberg, *Demotic Chronicle,* pp. 1-26.
[60] Brugsch, *AZ,* 9 (1871), p. 13.
[61] Sethe, *Urkunden,* II, pp. 16-18.
[62] Schäfer, *Aegyptiaca, Festschrift für G. Ebers,* pp. 92 *et seq.;* also Sethe, *Urkunden,* II, pp. 1-17.
[63] Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum,* I-III (*EES,* 1934).
[64] Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* I, p. 44.

pointed two native governors for Upper and Lower Egypt (Doloaspis and Petisis). His financial superintendent was Cleomenes of Naukratis, a Greek. Cleomenes was not to collect the taxes directly from the peasantry, but through the lesser native officials as was customary. Doubtless, the native governors were to protect both officials and peasantry against extortion by a direct appeal to Alexander.[65] However, soon after Alexander left for the east, Doloaspis died and Cleomenes was told to carry on both shares of the government until Alexander could appoint someone else.[66] Ptolemy was later given the appointment as Satrap, but since he was not able to attend to his province in person for several years, Cleomenes remained in power.

Opinions as to the size of the army left in Egypt by Alexander differ, but whatever the number, the command was divided between three men. Polemon commanded the fleet, while Peucestas and Balacros divided the army command. Probably one was responsible for the north, the other for the south. Separate garrison commanders were appointed for Memphis and Pelusium.[67] It seems obvious that Alexander, like Ptolemy, was struck with the easy defensibility of Egypt and thus divided the military commands to lessen the chances of revolt on the part of any one of his commanders.

During Alexander's absence in India, Cleomenes was guilty of numerous offenses and abuses. He cornered the grain market, refused to allow the exportation of any products but his own, plundered and pillaged the temples, and in general used every means to amass great wealth for himself at the expense of the helpless Egyptians.[68] It is said that he made some 8,000 talents within a few years time. Tarn discounts as false the story that Alexander condoned and pardoned Cleomenes, since Cleander, a Macedonian and not just a Greek, had been put to death for oppressing his subjects.[69] He believes, therefore, that Alexander never learned the true state of affairs before his death in 323.

Certain major trends can be discerned in the economic life of Egypt throughout this period. Revival began under Psamtik I and reached a peak under Amasis. This is plainly demonstrable by the increase in business documents, and the volume of sales and trade that they exhibit.[70] Herodotos says that 20,000 cities flourished under Amasis.[71] Egypt's economy crashed with the Persian conquest, but began a slow upward trend under Darius I, only to reach a low peak and begin to

[65] Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* I, p. 44.
[66] Tarn, *Alexander,* II, p. 303 and note.
[67] Arrian. *Anabasis.* iii. 5; Curtius. iv. 8. 5.
[68] *Ps.* Aristotle. *Oeconomica.* ii. 34; Arrian. *Anab.* vii. 23-26.
[69] Tarn, *Alexander,* I, pp. 130-131.
[70] Griffith, *Rylands Papyri,* III, pp. 1-46 and *passim.* Cf. Revillout, "Notices des papyrus démotiques," *RE,* I-V (1880-1885).
[71] Herodotos ii. 177.

decline. There was no revival of economic prosperity until the reign of Amyrtaeus II of the XXVIIIth Dynasty. The upward trend continued under his successors of the XXIXth and XXXth Dynasties but never reached the peak achieved under Amasis. The economic decline apparent under the later Persians must primarily have been due to the constant outflowing of profits to Persia and the meager reinvestment of capital within Egypt. Taxes under the native Pharaohs were probably quite as high as under the Persians, but the Egyptian rulers spent most of their money in Egypt for public and private purposes instead of storing it up as surplus bullion. The Persians may also have disturbed the normal economy by carrying off and employing Egyptian workmen in Persepolis[72] and by levying manpower for service abroad with their navies.

No estimate of the total effects of Alexander's policy is possible, but he would seem to have realized the necessity for improving commerce. The choice of a location for the port of Alexandria was carefully made and the wisdom of selection has been proved in the course of the centuries. And if Alexander did know of Cleomenes' financial activities and did pardon and confirm him in office, the condition laid down under which forgiveness was obtained would indicate a sound economic policy on Alexander's part. These terms demanded that Cleomenes use his huge fortune in the construction of temples in Egypt,[73] thus returning the capital to the country in the form of public works.

To summarize, the Pharaohs of whatever national extraction followed a general policy of government with only minor variations. All were bound within a framework of tradition and, perhaps, geography. The most important distinction in the mind of the Egyptian lay in the use which Pharaoh made of his wealth, for therein lay the key to Egypt's prosperity.

[72] Cameron, "Persepolis Tablets Old and New", JNES XVII, no. 3 (July 1958), pp. 161-176. The workmen, according to Cameron, were paid partly in money and partly in produce. Under such circumstances an individual's ability to travel would be sharply curtailed. Probably few if any ever returned to Egypt.

[73] Arrian *Anabasis* vii. 23. 6.

CHAPTER VI

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE KINGDOM

To turn from general policies to specific details of the administration has its difficulties, since a complete record of all officials together with the functions of their various offices is not available. Inaccuracies and errors may therefore be unavoidable, but the number of documents still being found in Egypt gives promise that some day these mistakes may all be detected and a clear, authoritative reconstruction of governmental procedure may be made. Yet while recognizing the limitations of the sources presently at hand, it is nevertheless possible to discern the lines of the administrative framework and the details of certain offices.

Historically, the administration of Egypt was dual in nature with a separate set of magistrates for Upper and Lower Egypt. The only unity lay in Pharaoh who wore his double crown and bore, as a part of his titulary, the symbolic title "He of the sedge and the bee." When Psamtik I sought to restore the historical unity, he found it necessary to reestablish two administrations rather than one. The special circumstances connected with the existence of the Amen-state made it impossible to do otherwise. Nothing so well illustrates the real division between the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt than the differing systems of writing in use. The Theban bureaus used Abnormal Hieratic while elsewhere documents were written in Demotic. Only in the time of Amasis did Demotic make its way into Thebes.

But in constructing his governmental organization, Psamtik could not at first re-create the methods of the Empire and appoint a grand "Vizier" or "Governor General" for each kingdom, though later Saite pharaohs were able to do so. The traditional administrative machinery of the Empire however served as his model and he followed that pattern as closely as conditions permitted. The administrative organization of the Saite rulers is diagrammed in Figure I, with specific reference to the tenth year of Psamtik I so far as is possible from the sources. There is some question[1] as to whether Nesnaüiaü should be considered governor general of Upper Egypt, or whether Mentuemhat should rather be given that title, but Kees (after raising the question) concludes that Mentuemhat did not have jurisdiction over more than three of the Upper Egyptian nomes, and was not an army commander. Seidl points out that Semtutefnakhte exercised great judicial authority within at least a part of the area, and had under him a police prefect

[1] Kees, NGWG, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

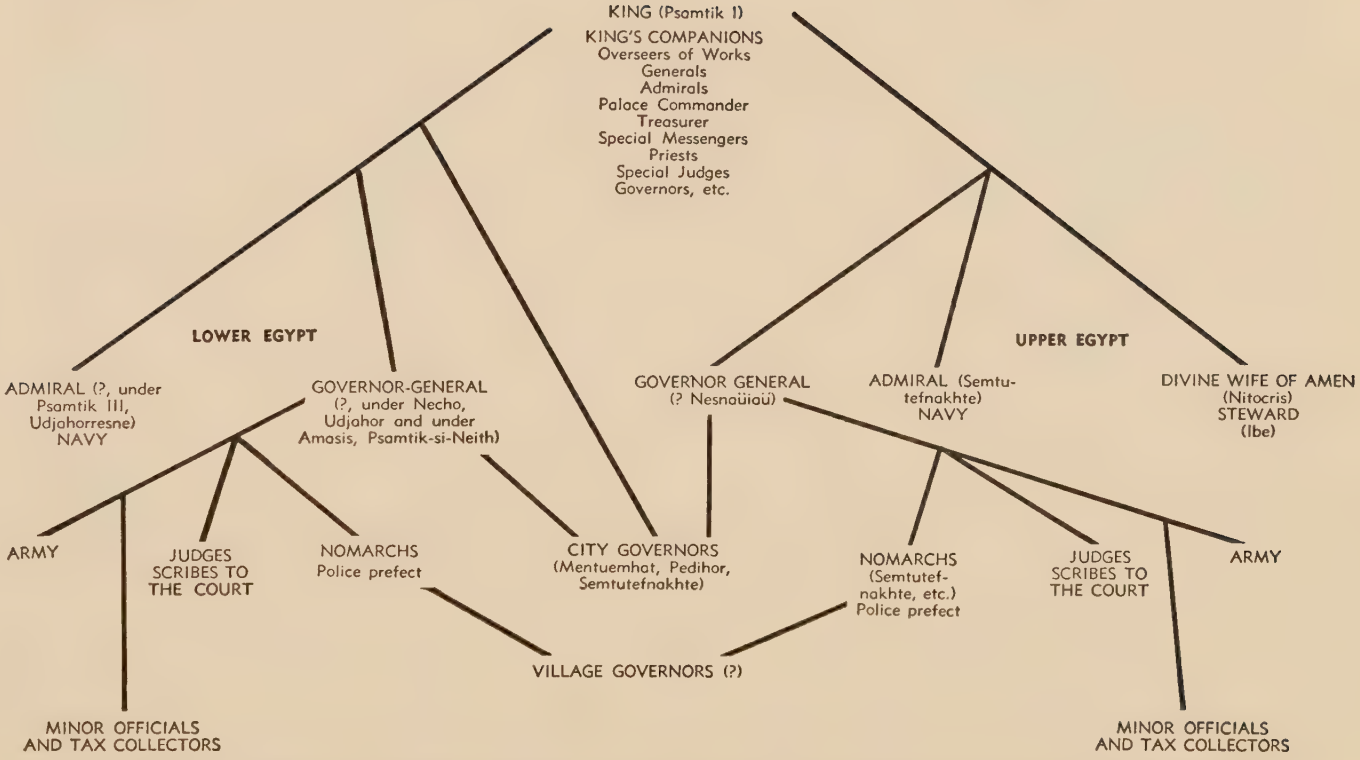

FIGURE I. Diagram of the Administrative System of Egypt in the tenth year of the reign of Psamtik I.

("Chief of the Matoi").[2] The Prefect of Police reported a murder to the Admiral who then issued a warrant for the arrest of the accused criminals.[3] It seems likely, however, in the light of Kees' study and that of Seidl's itself, both of which emphasize the continuity of legal and administrative forms into the Ptolemaic period, that each nomarch exercised judicial functions and had some kind of police official under his jurisdiction.

The chief argument for considering Nesnaüiaü the Governor General of Upper Egypt lies in his command of the principal fortification and armed forces within the area. It may have been understood that he would not interfere in the civil and judicial functions of Mentuemhat and Semtutefnakhte unless necessity warranted, but he seems to have been the official in whom the most responsibility for the physical safety of Upper Egypt resided. He and his command constituted Psamtik's "encircling military arm" to the south of the Upper Egyptian Mentuemhat and the Middle Egyptian Semtutefnakhte.

Psamtik's arrangement, including the partial division of civil and military functions, was apparently continued by his Saite successors, and with few modifications by the Persians and Alexander. Under Cambyses and Darius I, the Satrap represented and replaced the king. Aryandes, as Satrap, may also have doubled as Governor General of Lower Egypt, but Arsames seems to have been Governor General of Upper Egypt with Megaphernes acting as his lieutenant.[4] Native Egyptians served as nomarchs and city-governors and had jurisdiction over the collection of taxes and over judicial matters except in a case of appeals.[5]

One element of Saite administration disappeared completely under the Persians; the Divine Wife of Amen. It is difficult to divine what real or practical part the Divine Wife played in the administrative affairs of Upper Egypt. The records of adoption for Nitocris and for her successor Ankhnesneferibrē' describe in considerable detail the properties and revenues at the disposal of Amen's wife, but neither contains information on her duties. Since the office was originally instituted as a substitute for the High Priesthood, it is possible to suppose that the Divine Wife had great influence in making known the oracles of the god. The High Priests had originally gained their enormous power through the oracular functions of Amen[6] which they controlled, and this control had presumably passed to the Divine Wife. The god might be questioned on any important topic, judicial or administrative, by his wor-

[2] Seidl, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
[3] *Ibid.* Cf. *Pap. Ryl.* IX. 11. 15.
[4] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri,* no. 16. Cf. Olmstead, *History of Persia,* p. 142 and Polyaenos vii. 28. 1.
[5] *Pap. Ryl.* IX, *passim.*
[6] For discussion see Drioton and Vandier, *L'Egypte,* pp. 451-453 and notes pp. 486-487.

shippers and his decision accepted as definitive. So long therefore as faithful worshippers of Amen occupied important official posts, the office of Divine Wife was important to Pharaoh. In the Persian period military control could be substituted for that of the god or his "wife," and after the death of Ankhnesneferibrē' the office remained vacant.

Alexander, during his short stay in Egypt, made no real administrative changes. Adopting the Persian pattern, he left Cleomenes as Satrap. Doloaspis and Petisi were to be Governors of North and South, respectively. They were native Egyptians. Other Egyptians filled the offices of nomarchs and city governors. Alexander appointed a separate naval commander which was not new. Semtutefnakhte had held such a command under Psamtik I, and Udjahorresne under Psamtik III. The office of Admiral was independent of the governors, and its holder had rights of inspection within the provinces of the governors. In variance with Egyptian custom, however, the army commands under Alexander were separate and distinct from the functions of the governors, which were limited to civil affairs. Thus, while the governors were Egyptians, the military commands were in the hands of Macedonians.[7]

It is difficult to visualize from Figure I how much the various offices overlapped in their functions and duties. It is even more difficult to clarify the lines of responsibility and loyalty of one official toward his superior, and of all the officials toward the king. It must be emphasized that all the high officials were directly appointed by Pharaoh from the group of men known as the King's Companions. These Companions were his courtiers and loyal supporters, consisting of nobles and priests.

The overlapping of functions can be illustrated by considering the career of any one of the great officials whose records are extant. Hear, for example, Pef-tu-Neith:

> His excellency, unique friend, administrator of the palace, chief physician, recipient of gold and silver at the palace, director of the pavilion of repast, grand pensioner of the palace royal, great nomarch, Pef-tu-Neith, made director of the temples of Neith, *'dj-mr* of Dep, priest of Horus . . .[8]

The titles and duties of Semtutefnakhte and of Udjahorresne were even more numerous. None of the texts contain information about the length of time served in any one office, how many could be held at once, or which were performed consecutively. It is absolutely impossible to suppose that some of the duties described by Pef-tu-Neith were carried out while he yet was responsible for other functions. When he was sent to arrange the affairs of the temple at Abydos[9] he must surely have given up his position as administrator of the palace, or at least assigned

[7] *Ps.* Aristotle *Economica* ii. 33. 1-6, Polyaenos iv. 165, Diodoros xviii. 14. 1, Arrian *Anab.* vii. 23.
[8] Jelinkova-Reymond, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 277-279.

it to a deputy. But the only clues ever given in these texts to a terminal point in office are the reports of completed quarrying or building projects,[10] or occasionally an indication of a change of service with a change of Pharaohs. For instance, Psamtik-sa-Neith was raised in rank under Amasis to Governor General of Lower Egypt,[11] and Udjahorresne was appointed to new positions under Cambyses.[12]

Not only the functions and jurisdictions of officials overlapped, but also their loyalty and responsibility. At first sight, it seems most difficult to make their positions clear, for a lower official might be responsible to a superior on the one hand, and thus indirectly responsible to the king, while in another instance, the same official would be directly responsible to the king. Such an official was Ibe, Nitocris' Chief Steward. As steward, he was responsible to her for the management of her estate and the advancement of her affairs. But, as he said in his inscription:

His Majesty sent those who were in his suite, . . . of the Southland, prophets and priests of Amen. They came saying: His Majesty has heard that the house of the Divine Votress of Amen is beginning to fall to ruin. There shall be appointed the King's Companion, Ibe, as chief steward of the Divine Consort, and that there should be collected for him all things needful.[13]

The king's orders continue with the details of the materials to be furnished to Ibe for the work of rebuilding and refurnishing Nitocris' palace. Thus Ibe had the additional responsibility of a director of construction by commission of the king. To whom did he owe primary loyalty?

This type of commission was often given to a King's Companion. Great building or restoration projects were organized like a military expedition. A Serapeum inscription says:

His Majesty commanded restoration in his (Apis') temple, and that it should be more beautiful than that which was before. His Majesty caused that there be done for him (the Apis bull) all that is done for a god on the day of interment . . . Their troops were subjects of the palace, while a King's Companion stood over them, levying their labor for the court, like the land of Egypt.[14]

Appointments were made directly by the king. Therefore, a governor of the North or South, while he might have personal servants and appointees of his own, was forced to have a certain number of subordinate officials whose appointments came directly from the king, and who could in case of necessity, appeal directly to Pharaoh.[15]

[10] Piehl, AZ XXXII (1894), p. 119.
[11] Ranke, MDIAAK XII (1943), pp. 115-117.
[12] Posenor, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-26.
[13] Breasted, *ARE* IV, sect. 958 F and G; cf. Peihl, *AZ*, 32 (1894), p. 119, Inscription of Pef-nef-a-net.
[14] Breasted, *ARE* IV, sect. 964. Also Piehl, *loc. cit.*
[15] Udjahorresne, City Governor of Sais, took his demands directly to the king.

The nomarchs and city governors were independent of one another, though one man often held both offices.[16] Psamtik I made no effort to deprive Mentuemhat, Prince of Thebes, of his office, or put him under the authority of a nomarch. Nor did he place the city under a nomarch after Mentuemhat's death. He simply appointed Pedihor as governor of the city, displacing Nesuptah, the son of Mentuemhat.[17] This act also shows that the office of city governor was not legally hereditary, though it often became so, since an official was allowed to request the appointment of a chosen person to succeed him in his office. This was usually a son or close kinsman.

Seidl has made an exhaustive study of legal methods and procedures during Saite and Persian times, and since he had previously completed a study of a similar nature on the Ptolemaic period his grasp of the developmental aspects of Egyptian legal procedures is exceptional.[18] He states that Ptolemaic law and legal methods grow directly out of the Saite and Persian. Taubenschlag agrees and says that it continued into the Roman period, still existing in the *Constitutio Antoniniana,* at least for Egyptian nationals.[19] Seidl notes further that the Persian and Macedonian officials were in no way responsible for the legal development since native officials were always charged with judicial responsibilities. However since Pharaoh, or his substitute the Satrap, was the final court of appeals, the Persian officials were forced to take some responsibility in legal procedures. Seidl believes that they retained an Egyptian Adviser on Legal Matters or "Juridicus," pointing to a reference in *Papyrus Rylands* IX which records the presence of an official (whose title cannot be accurately read) at the court of the Satrap.

In Ptolemaic times the king referred all cases coming to him on appeal to a judge, but not so in the Saite period. Pharaoh actually heard and decided the cases of appeals, as did the Persian Satraps, unless illness prevented. Only in case of sickness was an appeal heard by a judge especially appointed for the purpose. Pharaoh, writes Seidl, "spoke law,"[20] but a civil process would always be used to decide any case in which punishment might be the remedy.[21]

Below Pharaoh's own court were the regular courts of the nomes, and possibly of each city. It has been argued that these were no longer called *knb.t* as they had been in the Empire, but Seidl cites documentary evidence to prove that they continued to be called by that name in Thebes

[16] Nesnaüiaü and Semtutefnakhte.
[17] Breasted, *ARE* IV, sect. 965.
[18] Seidl, *op. cit.,* passim. Cf. Seidl, *Einführung in die Ägyptische Rechtgeschichte: Ptolemaischen Rechtgeschichte.* AF (Gluckstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1947).
[19] Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B. C.-64 A. D.* (New York: 1944).
[20] Seidl, *Rechtgesch. der Saiten- und Perzerzeit,* p. 33.
[21] *Ibid.*

at least. [22] He also argues convincingly that the *knb.t* evolved into the Ptolemaic *laokriten* though Taubenschlag would disagree.[23] The judges of the *knb.t* appear to have been under the jurisdiction of the nomarchs and city governors during the Persian era, and this probably represents a continuation of Saite policy. It would seem almost certain, however, that they received appointment directly from the king rather than from the lesser officials. Seidl identifies "Hall of Writings" as the courtroom.[24]

In addition to the *knb.t,* special commissions could be created by the "Overseer of the Treasures," who with the aid of district supervisors heard, decided or made agreements on special tax problems. Seidl believes these extraordinary courts of the Saite period evolved through need and use under the Persians and Macedonians and were constituted as a regular, though "special" court system under the Ptolemies for the solution of any perplexities in judgment concerning crown revenues.[25]

Seidl's study of legal institutions and trial procedures makes pertinent the description of Diodoros in the first century, since little change had occurred which affected the average Egyptians. Diodoros said of them: "Egyptians showed no merely casual interest in the administration of justice, but held that the decisions of courts exercise the greatest influence on community life, and this in two aspects . . ."[26] He continues by saying that criminals must be punished and justice be done to all.

In Diodoros' lifetime, the judges were selected and paid by the king. The method of hearing cases followed the Saite pattern of procedure. The presentation had to be made in writing. The accusation made by the plaintiff was read by the defendant, who then submitted a written reply, supported by his documents: proofs, and the written attestations of witnesses. The judges studied all the documents involved, then rendered their decision by placing an image of the goddess *Maat* upon one or the other pleas.[27]

There was a well developed and well defined legal terminology in Egypt, nearly as rigid as that of the present day.[28] The royal decrees and legal reforms made by the kings have already been noted, but it will be interesting to consider one of them for a moment and seek to understand why it was necessary. Darius I ordered that the laws of Egypt, as they existed in the forty-fourth year of the Pharaoh Amasis,[29] be written down, calling together all the chief men of Egypt for the

[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 32 and 39.
[23] Taubenschlag, *op. cit.,* pp. 370-378.
[24] Seidl, *loc. cit.*
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 33.
[26] Diodoros. i. 75.
[27] Petition of Patesi, *Pap. Ryl.,* IX.
[28] Seidl, *op. cit.,* chap. I.
[29] Revillout believed that Amasis suppressed priestly interference in contracts between two parties, but insofar as I can determine from the Demotic contracts, there was no priestly interference before his time. Seidl finds no change.

purpose. Are we then to believe that there was no body of written law, or law code, in Egypt before the time of Darius?

In view of the Egyptian habit of keeping written records, it is impossible to believe that the laws were not recorded, but the only indication of a code is found in a painting from the tomb of Rekhmirē', governor of Upper Egypt under Thutmose III. This scene shows Rekhmirē' presiding at a trial. On the floor lie "forty" rolls of papyrus which many scholars believe to be the "law books,"[30] but there is no proof. No such law code has ever been found. Nor is it certain that there was any central Archives or Bureau of Records prior to the Ptolemaic period.[31] Seidl believes that the idea of an archives grew out of the Law Courts, or "Halls of Writings" because of the need to retain and preserve court records.[32] Since it is certain that Theban documents were written in one script until the time of Amasis, while those of Lower Egypt were inscribed in another, it seems probable that his theory of purely local preservation of records is correct. However, Pharaoh and his judges evidently demanded a fairly standard form for all legal documents, whether written in Hieratic, Demotic or Aramaic. This form is peculiar to Egypt, differing substantially from Assyrian and Babylonian forms, and remaining standardized into Greco-Roman times.[33]

Royal decrees would seem to have been communicated directly to the officials responsible for their execution. Examples of this practice have already been noted in the case of Ibe, of the "Restorer" of the Apis temple and others.

Theoretically, the king in addition to being the source of all law was also the owner of all Egypt and could dispose of any of its resources, including land, as he pleased. But in practice landholders, whether individual or corporate (temples, especially), treated their holdings as private property. Land was bought, sold, rented and inherited freely.

There were four orders within the priesthoods, each consisting of a certain number of priests of various ranks and grades. Within any one temple, apparently, there was an equal distribution between the four orders. A most interesting demotic papyrus from the Persian period gives great detail on these matters. A priest named Patesi fell victim to a conspiracy hatched by some of his fellow priests. He was forcibly deprived of his office, which was bestowed on another incumbent. His land also was taken but the newcomer was given only a small part of the property of Patesi. Most of it was retained for division among the successful conspirators. The long petition sets out the whole course of the affair, with Patesi's appeal to the Persian governor after he failed

[30] Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmirē, Paintings from, MME,* X, plate XXVI.
[31] But cf. Pirenne and van der Walle, *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* I, pp. 80-84.
[32] Seidl, *op. cit.,* p. 39.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

to gain justice in the lower court because the guilty priests had bribed the judges. The outcome of the matter is unknown since this is merely his written statement of appeal. No copy of the final judgment exists.[34]

It seems evident that the property serving as endowments for the priesthoods was not fixed in amount, and a man could increase such property by judicious buying and selling. It could also be decreased by division upon inheritance. Out of it a man might furnish his daughter's dowry[35] (and provide for his son-in-law with a job in the temple or on his estates if he wished), or he might further leave it by will to his wife, children, or other relatives.[36] In other words, it was private property for all practical purposes.[37]

Unfortunately, there are no documents extant which can be proven to come from the royal estates directly under the ownership of the king. However, it is most likely that the holders of royal land managed their individual holdings in the same fashion as did the holders of temple lands and priestly endowments. They owed a tax, or ground rent, of one tenth of their produce, usually the "firstfruits."[38] Once this was paid, or so long as it was paid, the royal or temple owner would not care what the real property holder did with the remainder. A decree of donation to the temple of Ptah at Memphis by Apries would seem to bear out this conclusion. It says:

> . . . give the district situated across the Nile from the city of Memphis as a pious offering to my father Ptah . . . as well as all its farmers, all its beasts and equipment with the exception of the lands already belonging to the great gods who live there. (I command) to protect and make prosper this territory . . . by all sorts of works of improvement. I will permit neither . . . nor that the royal messengers carry off the inhabitants . . . Any prince, any royal messenger who shall transgress this decree . . .[39]

At first glance, it might seem that the above decree gave proof that the people on the royal estates were bound to the soil like serfs, but this was not true. The decree simply states that the royal messengers may not henceforward draft men, either for the army, quarrying operations, building repairs, work on the canals or other royal need, for this land is transferred from royal ownership to that of the god Ptah. It is not likely that the "fellah" noticed much difference between his two owners, except that he was no longer liable for military or other royal service.

In none of the available documents is there any evidence of a "serf" class, and many of the papyri record contracts or transactions made

[34] *Pap. Ryl.* IX.
[35] Turin 246 (unpublished).
[36] Louvre E 7846 and Vienna Munz Kabinette. Revillout, CPAE I (1903). Cf. Malinine, RE VIII (1951), pp. 127-150.
[37] Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique,* pl. II, and *Rylands,* II, p. 47.
[38] Louvre E 7834-E 7838. Revillout, *loc. cit.*
[39] Piehl, "Stele d'Apries," *AZ,* 28 (1890), p. 103, unfortunately quite fragmentary.

between people so poor that they bought or sold half of a cow.[40] Nor is there real evidence of a rigid caste system such as that described by Herodotos and other Greek authors.[41] There was an occupational class system, but even this was not apparently rigid or regulated by law. Usually, a son inherited his father's occupation, but papyri show that a man might sell himself as a son to another,[42] buy or sell all or a part of a priestly office,[43] or sell himself and his services for one or more years' time.[44] In addition, there are letters from certain men who have gone elsewhere in Egypt on their own financial affairs who wrote to their wives or families on business matters.[45] All of these things show freedom of personal action. Nor are these documents from the artisan class, but almost entirely from small landowners.

If, therefore, offices could be bought and sold, priests could be both farmers and priests, sons could be adopted by purchase, sons-in-law instated in the offices of their fathers-in-law, a man was free to sell his services to another, and a man could endow himself as an underpriest with his own personal property (his family consenting),[46] the caste system could not have been so rigid as claimed by the Greek observers. Diodoros improved on Herodotos when he said: "All craftsmen are forbidden to follow any other occupation or belong to any other class of citizens than those stipulated by law and handed down to them from their parents . . ."[47] The Greek writers were mistaken, for the pre-Ptolemaic period at least. The situation was probably very similar to that found in modern Egypt, where a man, born into one class, finds it extraordinarily difficult to gain entry into another class, even though his education and accomplishments may have alienated him entirely from the ways of his parents. There is no law against his change from one class to another. The restriction is social not legal.[48]

Herodotos' description of the two military classes in Egypt during these years 663-323 has given rise to much discussion. The Egyptian records confirm it vaguely,[49] but the origin and meaning of the terms

[40] Louvre E 9292 (unpublished. Cf. Revillout, "Notices," *op. cit.*).

[41] Herodotos. ii. 154; Diodoros. i. 73-74; Aristotle. *Politics*. vii. 10. 1-8; Plato. *Timaeus*. 24a; Strabo. xvii. 1. 3.

[42] Louvre E 7832. Prof S. R. K. Glanville of King's College Cambridge directed me in the use of this material which was in 1949 incompletely published.

[43] Louvre E 9024; *Pap. Ryl.* III, nos. I and IX.

[44] *Pap. Ryl.* III, nos. III and V.

[45] Louvre E 7855 A and B.

[46] Turin 248.

[47] Diodoros. i. 74.

[48] While in Egypt, I heard of a young man who had gained a good education and a lucrative government post, though he came from a poor class of people. Yet, he could not marry into the class to which his position entitled him, and could not bring himself to marry into the ignorant class to which his parents belong. Thus, he finds himself a social outcast. A "foreigner," that is, any non-native, though he and his parents and grand parents may have been born in Egypt, is in the same position.

[49] Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne,* 4th ed., pp. 231 *et seq.*

Hermotybies and *Calasiries* remain obscure. Neither are used in the Demotic texts. Spiegelberg believes that the term *Calasiries* designated the Infantry while *Hermotybies* applied to the Cavalry.[50] Möller, on the other hand thinks the *Hermotybies* were the archers,[51] while Mallet agrees with another interpretation put forward by Möller in which he states that one of the corps were assigned to Upper Egypt, the other to Lower Egypt.[52] The latter interpretation, in spite of Meyer's rejection (though he did not advance a theory himself) would seem to be most likely in view of some further remarks made by Herodotos.

In describing the Persian army and navy gathered for the invasion of Greece, Herodotos says that the Egyptians furnished 200 ships carrying fighting men. "These (the Egyptians) wore plaited helmets, and carried hollow shields with broad rims, and spears for sea warfare, and great poleaxes. The greater part of them wore cuirasses and carried long swords."[53] Later on, when describing Mardonius' army he says:

> The Egyptian swordsmen are called Hermotybies and Calasiries, which are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships, for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens.[54]

Had the two groups of warriors been, either infantry and cavalry, or infantry and archers, it seems likely that Herodotos would have differentiated them in describing their costume and armor. But he does not. Indeed, he speaks of them both as "swordsmen." It is known, of course, that there were archers amongst the Egyptians,[55] but it is probable that they were distributed between both corps, and that one of the corps was stationed in the North, the other in the South of Egypt, thus carrying the duality in administration and government one step further.

It is curious that the Greek sources do not distinguish service in the navy, both on the river and at sea, as one of the occupations of the Egyptians.[56] We know that Necho maintained strong fleets in both the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, and that Apries, Amasis, and Psamtik III also possessed very fine navies. Later, during the last native dynasties, the Egyptian Navy was strong enough to send fleets of 50 or more triremes to various Greek states, several times. In each and every case, one may feel confident that these fleets were manned and

[50] Spiegelberg, *AZ*, 43 (1906), pp. 87-90.
[51] Möller, *AZ*, 50 (1920), p. 78.
[52] *Ibid.*, and Mallet, *Les premieres établissements des Grècs en Egypte*, pp. 413 *et seq.*
[53] Herodotos. vii. 89.
[54] Herodotos. ix. 32 (and also vii. 89-90).
[55] The Egyptian word for "army" is written with an archer with drawn bow, and the plural sign. Cf. Herodotos. ii. 30-31.
[56] Apparently the services were not divided in any way.

led primarily by Egyptians, though most scholars have thought they were confided to Greeks or Phoenicians. If this had been true, the Greeks would have left some record of the fact, for Amasis subdued Cyprus,[57] and Apries took Sidon by storm and brought Tyre to her knees.[58] In neither of these feats would the Phoenicians have taken part, and had the Greeks done so they should certainly have boasted of it. Furthermore, Herodotos clearly states that the Egyptian fleet of two hundred triremes serving with Xerxes' navy at Artemisium fought more bravely than all the rest. There is in addition sufficient evidence from Egyptian texts that naval commands were held by native Egyptians.

These texts and the exploits of the naval forces under Apries, Amasis and Xerxes would indicate that service in the fleet was entirely separate from service in the army. Herodotos' remark, already quoted, that "the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army" would support this conclusion. But no information exists concerning the recruitment for naval service. It seems probable, since Hor specifies that he was "Commander of Royal Fleets on the Great Green,"[59] that there was a Mediterranean fleet distinct from a Nile River fleet.

Herodotos was greatly interested in the class of "Interpreters" which he believed to have been established under Psamtik I and to have continued on a hereditary basis. The "Interpreters" would seem to have corresponded to the modern "dragomen," professional guides who assisted (and do assist) travelers in Egypt. If the profession were as lucrative in Herodotos' time as it apparently is now, it is not difficult to understand its popularity among Egyptians. It was not necessarily, however, a hereditary class, but more probably an occupation group.

The Egyptian woman could hold property independently of men, though the Jewish woman at Elephantine could not.[60] The usual marriage contract in Egypt stipulated: that a dowry be given with the woman. If there were a divorce, the dowry had to be repaid. In addition, the man agreed to give her a share of any property which he might have gained while he was with her, provided he divorced her, and to provide shares in the family property for the children.[61] The wife agreed, on the other hand, that if she left her husband, she would repay him any money that he had given her for a marriage gift and would make no claim on any joint property they had gained.[62] A daughter inherited from her parents equally with her brothers and was free to dispose of her property as she pleased. A wife could hold prop-

[57] Herodotos. ii. 172; Diodoros. i. 68.6.
[58] Diodoros. i. 68.
[59] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities,* p. 18 and pl. XX.
[60] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri,* no. 13.
[61] Louvre E 7846 and E 7849. Sometimes the percentage of the joint gains he must give is stipulated, often ⅓.
[62] Berlin 3077-3079. (The latter translated in Griffith, *op. cit.,* III, p. 117).

erty separate from her husband[63] and could inherit from him as well as from her parents.[64] Further, a man wishing to dispose of his property in some unorthodox fashion had to have the consent of his wife and children as interested parties. For example, a certain Patesi, priest of Osiris at Abydos, wished to donate a certain amount of his property (apparently privately owned land) to the god. He, as priest of the god, would be the human recipient of the gift. That is, he would continue to enjoy the revenues from his land though it would pass into the god's (temple) ownership. Patesi's wife Rer and her children made the actual deed of donation, establishing the grant under a choachyte (underpriest) and servants as an endowment for Patesi.[65]

It is possible that Essemtui was the son of this same Patesi, and that he later inherited his father's office and endowment and expanded it by buying another priestly office, together with its fees and endowments, from Hor, son of Pemu, a priest of Amen. This deed of sale had to be signed by Hor and his heirs.[66] All of these documents were signed by the scribe who drew them up and anywhere from four to twenty witnesses.

There is a possibility that there were regular temple employees, or "hired men." For instance, a certain farming agreement gives a beekeeper in the Temple of Mont charge of the cultivation of a certain farm.[67] No remuneration was stipulated, which is extraordinary. The man was certainly not a slave. Possibly the scribe made a mistake in drawing up the document, or perhaps the temple simply appointed him as its employee to cultivate the land temporarily.

Naturally, there were slaves, and documents record their sale and purchase. Some of these slaves were prisoners of war,[68] while others were probably brought in by traders from Nubia and the Libyan grasslands, and others were natives who sold their services on a yearly basis.[69] They were used as house servants and field workers by private owners, and for the royal quarrying and building projects.[70] Diodoros said that they were used in the mines, also.[71]

The Egyptian, then, male or female, would seem to have enjoyed a rather high degree of personal freedom. There was, certainly, a class system, but not the rigid one of castes which the Greek authors described. These classes were socially restricted, not legally as they were during the Ptolemaic period.[72] If an Egyptian lived on royal land, he was liable for military service and for service on other royal projects. Unfortu-

[63] Louvre E 9204 and E 7858, also 2 papyri at Turin.
[64] Turin, Revillout, *Notices,* p. 422.
[65] Turin 248.
[66] *Pap. Ryl.,* III, no. I.
[67] Louvre E 7839.
[68] Vatican, Revillout, *Notices,* p. 288; Turin, Revillout, *Notices,* p. 410; Piehl, *AZ,* 32 (1894), p. 119.
[69] Louvre E 706; *Rylands,* III, nos. III, V, VI, and VII.
[70] Piehl, *loc. cit.*
[71] Diodoros. iii. 12-14.
[72] Rostovtzeff, *JEA,* VI (1920), pp. 166-167.

nately, little idea can be gained of how the troops were recruited, other than that the royal messengers came and said: "His Majesty commands . . ."

Wherever the Egyptian lived, he was required to pay a tax on all his produce, to Pharaoh if he occupied royal land, to the temple if he lived on a god's property.[73] If he were an artisan or a merchant, he owed a tax, the percentage of which is not known. If Amasis imposed an income tax, as Drioton and Vandier believe, it may have been in addition to the regular property tax, that is, a sort of surtax.[74] Tachos' sales tax would seem to have been repealed by his successor.

Pharaoh touched the lives of his subjects in many ways, through his officials and administrators, through his legal and judicial functions, and through his ability to dispose of his lands in whatever fashion he wished (though such a transference was little felt by the actual small landowner), and through his responsibility to improve, repair, and protect his property, even that which he had given to the temples.

There is no means of judging or comparing the royal revenues with the royal expenses, but it seems quite likely that the king made a profit from his vast estates. Even if he received taxes from only one third the land area of Egypt at a rate of one tenth (which would not seem unusual) of the yearly produce, his revenues were immense. These were supplemented by taxes on the industrial products, tariffs, and the profits from the royal fisheries. Since a great many of these taxes were paid in produce, especially grain, Pharaoh had perforce to be a merchant king. And, due to his ownership of such a vast estate, he was the first and greatest merchant of Egypt. This is an important fact to remember in considering the foreign policy of the pharaohs.

[73] Louvre E 7835, 7838, 7834, 7450, 7854, and Strassbourg 2.
[74] Drioton and Vandier, *L'Egypte,* p. 555.

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN POLICIES

Some comment has already been made on the differing aims pursued by native kings of Egypt in comparison to those of foreign-born rulers, though chiefly in relation to the problems of defense. The difference is more clearly apparent in matters of foreign policy than in any other area of the administration. A Pharaoh of native birth was guided by an undivided interest in the safety and welfare of the Two Lands to a degree not to be expected in the ruler of an enormous empire of which Egypt formed only a part. The Egyptian ruler might be as strongly motivated by self-interest as the Persian, but since his own wealth, power and future was indissolubly bound to Egypt he could not be other than patriotic. In only one major purpose could the native and foreign ruler agree in forming foreign policy. It was to the advantage of all to promote the financial and commercial prosperity of the country.

Two major patterns in foreign policy are therefore discernible. The native-born rulers sought to maintain Egyptian independence and strengthen the country's unity and defense. The foreign-born rulers sought to integrate Egypt peacefully within an imperial organization and prevent the formation of any alliances or other ties which might threaten the empire. The account of the historical events in Chapters II and III illustrates in some detail the military activities, treaties, alliances and agreements of individual pharaohs, and it remains here necessary only to analyze these actions in the light of their aims.

The geographic location and climatic condition of Egypt was partly responsible for the development of a historic and traditional attitude on the part of her native kings toward Palestine and Syria. This traditional policy was based equally on economic and political reasons. Danger for Egypt, with the exception of the Ethiopian invasions, had always historically come from the north, and from the Old Kingdom onward the Pharaohs had taken an active, preventive interest in opposing control of that region by any other strong power. Ideally, the best way to prevent the emergence of any hostile government in Palestine-Syria was to bring all or part of it under Egyptian domination. In conformance with this ideal, Psamtik I expanded into the "Gaza strip" and stubbornly persisted until he took Ashdod. Necho extended the foothold inland to include Jerusalem and northward to Carchemish on the Euphrates. Driven back by Nebuchadrezzar, he yet retained Philistia, some part of which was apparently still held by Psamtik II.

Apries, challenging Nebuchadrezzar and seeking to expand into Phoenicia and Palestine, was beaten back after momentary success and lost everything beyond the borders of Egypt. Amasis was unable to move toward any recovery by land, but he substituted the conquest of Cyprus which at least gave him domination of the sea routes and the power of potential interference on the Syrian coast. Tachos, of the XXXth Dynasty returned to the traditional policy of active military intervention in Syria, considering it of such importance that he ruthlessly mustered every resource to achieve it. No other native ruler was secure enough, financially or militarily to make the enormous effort again until the Ptolemaic rulers began to challenge the Seleucids in the same region.[1] In assessing the needs of Egypt, it must be admitted that Tachos and his predecessors were entirely correct in recognizing the danger of allowing any strong power to establish itself within such close proximity to the Egyptian frontier. Their error lay in not recognizing their own weaknesses. Egypt was not strong enough to hold Palestine and Syria in opposition either to Nebuchadrezzar or the Persians. Had Tachos sought rather to raise and strengthen the native states and rulers of the region without placing so enormous a financial burden on his country, his success might have been greater. The Persians were weakened then, and widening the rebellion might possibly have led them to the fate of the Assyrians. But Tachos seems to have been obsessed with the desire for conquest.

Intervention in Palestine and Syria by Egypt was strongly supported on economic grounds. For centuries, or rather millennia, the two areas had maintained close trade relations. From Egypt poured linen, grain, papyrus, horses, leather goods, perfumes, ivory and ebony from the African hinterland coming down the Nile, gold and silver jewelry and other wares, faiënce, stonework and varied luxury products. In return there flowed from Syria-Palestine timber and balsam from the Lebanese cedars, iron manufactures, dyes, wool textiles, blown glass, oils, wines, bronzewares and pottery.[2] Trade could be both easier and more profitable to Egypt if she controlled the area politically.

A third motive for Egyptian interference involved the normal profits to be expected from any imperialism. Subject nations were expected to pay "tribute," as did Jehoiakim to Necho. In addition, there were other ways in which both Pharaoh and Egyptian nationals could profit from economic exploitation of the region.

But the Saite and Late Dynastic Pharaohs had ill success in their attempts to control Palestine and Syria, and other means had to be found to strengthen Egypt internationally. Significantly and naturally, Egypt turned more and more to the Greeks, and became ever more

[1] The struggle was ended only with the coming of Rome.
[2] See Ezekiel 27 for a summary of Tyrian trade.

dependent on alliances with Hellenic states in spite of several treacherous abnegations on the part of the Greeks.

From the time of Amasis onward, two factors forced Egypt to this increasing dependence on the Greeks: the division of world power in the eastern Mediterranean lay between Persia, Egypt and the Hellenic states, and Greek markets became ever more important to the Egyptian economy. By the mid-point of Amasis' reign (c. 539 when Babylon fell to Cyrus), no other important free states remained outside Egypt and Greece. The same condition applied in the fourth century when Egypt was struggling desperately for independence, since neither Carthage, Etruria nor Rome was taking part in the affairs of the eastern world. Only then amongst the Greeks could Egypt obtain allies against Persia.

Economically, Egypt expected to market a large part of her surplus grain in Greek cities, and the Pharaohs bought alliances with grain. Papyrus and linen,[3] as well as various luxury products, were traded in quantity. In return, Greek wines and oils were welcome to the Egyptians. Therefore, though the Egyptians felt for the Greeks the most intense personal dislike, they perforce came to regard them as their most important hope of salvation from Persia, militarily and economically.

The Greeks in return, though amazed and attracted by Egypt and all things Egyptian felt no real concern for her fate. It was well enough to aid Egypt when Egypt's needs happened to coincide with those of the particular city-state. Individual Greeks however were eager to attach their own history, religion and achievements to the Two Lands. Almost every legendary Greek hero was made to have even more legendary adventures in Egypt. Homer was said to have visited Egypt.[4] Characters in the *Iliad* visited the Two Lands, namely Menelaos and Helen.[5] Daedalos was said either to have been an Egyptian or to have visited Egypt,[6] while it was claimed that Theodoros and Telekles had learned to cast bronze there.[7] Lykurgos was supposed to have gotten some of his laws from the Two Lands while on a visit to Egypt.[8]

Within the realm of possibilities is the claim that Solon was a traveler in Egypt,[9] but the suggestion that he took some of his laws from Amasis is manifestly absurd, for Amasis did not come to the throne until after 570 while Solon's law code was drawn up in 594.

Cleobalos of Rhodes, Thales, and Pythagoras are all credited with

[3] Thucydides i. 6. 3, and Herodotos ii. 105 *et al.*
[4] Diodoros i. 12 and 96-97; Clement of Alexandria *Stromachos* i. 15. 66; Aulus Gellius iii. 11 *et al*
[5] Homer. *Odyssey*. iv. 125 *et seq.*; Herodotos. ii. 112-113.
[6] Diodoros. i. 98.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Plutarch, *de audiendo*. 2; *Seven Wise Men*. 6.8.
[9] Plutarch, *Solon*. 23; Herodotos. i. 29-30.

having studied philosophy in Egypt. Mallet has made a thorough comparative study of these tales and all the available evidence that bears upon them, including the philosophical concepts and cosmologies (so far as they are extant) of Thales and Pythagoras. His conclusions are: Thales' cosmology was nearly the Heliopolitan,[10] and may have been borrowed from Egypt. That is, water was the primordial element from which all else came.[11] Also, the date given by Thales for the morning rising of the Pleiades applies to Egypt rather than to Miletus.[12] Tannery thinks that all Thales did was borrow from the Orient, particularly Egypt, and begin the intellectual movement in Greece by stimulating thought.[13]

In the case of Pythagoras, Mallet believes that the basic foundation of Pythagorean philosophy, his theory of numbers, was original with Pythagoras. At least, no counterpart in Egypt has ever been discovered. The ancients thought that his beliefs concerning the transmigration of the soul came from Egypt, but if so it came in the form of a misunderstanding of the Egyptian belief that the *ba* took form as a bird after death. However, the rules and regulations of the Pythagorean school, its ritual and observances, followed a recognizable Egyptian pattern and seems to show definite contact and derivation from Egyptian religious ritual.[14] It therefore seems more than probable that both Thales and Pythagoras studied in Egypt.

Certain it is, that Greek visitors came in ever increasing numbers as the years passed. Alkaios,[15] Charaxos the brother of Sappho,[16] and Hecataeos were among the more famous visitors who preceded Herodotos.[17] They came with cargoes to trade, which was the only way they could come in those years before the invention or general use of money.

The establishment of Naukratis as a treaty port seems to have been overemphasized by the Greek writers. The archaeological evidence does not show that it handled any large percentage of Egypt's exports. It certainly was not the port from which Pharaoh sent "wheat laden ships carrying over the shining sea mighty wealth from Egypt."[18] Naukratis was so poor in real Egyptian products for export, that her citizens were forced to manufacture cheap imitations of Egyptian wares to trade for the imports from abroad.[19] It is probable, however, that it was here in

[10] Mallet, *des Grècs en Égypte,* pp. 372-390.
[11] The earth shaped like a flat disk floated upon it, covered by a hemispherical canopy to which was attached the stars. Across this canopy, the heavenly gods sailed in luminous barks.
[12] Zeller, *Histoire de la philosophe Grècque,* I, p. 200.
[13] Tannery, *Pour la science Hellène,* pp. 52-80.
[14] Mallet, *op. cit.,* p. 379. Cf. Herodotos. ii. 123.
[15] Strabo. xiii. 527 (ed. Didot).
[16] Sappho, frag. *FHG;* Strabo. xvii. 1. 33.
[17] Hecataeus. *FHG,* I, 20; Herodotos. ii. 143.
[18] Quoted in Athenaeus. ii. 39.
[19] Petrie, *Naukratis,* I, p. 21.

Naukratis that arrangements were made between the king's agents and the representatives of Greek cities who wished to buy Egyptian grain.

There was a tariff on all imports, and a tax on the manufactures made in Naukratis. It is possible that these tariffs were levied by Amasis, but Maspero's study of the Papyrus Hood-Wilbour, dating between dynasties XXI and XXVI, indicates that tariffs on imports may have been established for some time before his reign. Maspero believed that the Egyptian *sdm* n snw mr ḥt m sn pr w*d* wr mr was analogous to the διοικήτης of the Ptolemaic period (Chief customs officer), and that another term corresponded to "Customs Officers." The Egyptian pr w*d* wr mr, "The official house of the Great Green," would then be the Customs Bureau.[20]

The native Pharaohs then, in the words of an Empire king, sought to "form a wall around Egypt in whose shadow the people rest, or walk about unafraid,"[21] though their success can be described as only moderate. It was certainly not enduring. On the whole, Persian diplomacy was more effective than the Egyptian.

The Persian aim in foreign policy was devoted to retaining and securing her empire; a part of which was Egypt. However, Egypt's well-being was neither central nor essential to Persia's good. Nevertheless, because of its comparative wealth and because of its interrelation with the Hellenic states, the Persian rulers devoted a good deal of attention to Egyptian affairs. At first, Cambyses and more importantly Darius I made a determined effort to pacify the country and make it a satisfied member of the imperial union. To that end were devoted the policies of codifying the laws, reopening the Nile-Red Sea Canal and the resumption of quarrying and building operations. The mapping of the eastern sea-route by Darius would indicate an interest in increasing Egypt's trade within the Empire, and may have formed a part of a positive effort to provide imperial markets for Egyptian goods, thereby loosening her economic ties with the Greeks.[22]

The reorientation of Egypt's economy toward the east may have brought considerable dislocation and hardship and may account for the eagerness with which the Egyptians rebelled after Marathon, in spite of Darius' apparent good government.

The rebellions in Egypt and the Persian defeats in Greece led to a radical revision of Persian diplomacy. Their foreign policy, from Xerxes onward, was largely devoted to creating differences and disturbances between the Hellenic states and to breaking up the alliances made between certain of these states and Egypt. Using money rather

[20] Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes,* II, fasc. I, pp. 9, 47-50.
[21] Breasted, ARE IV, sect. 58.
[22] A remark by Pliny the Elder in the first century of the Christian era would indicate that there was considerable trade between Egypt and India prior to Roman times. It would seem safe to assume that this trade had its beginnings under the Persians. Pliny vi. 26.

than military force, they applied the rule made famous by the later Caesar; divide and conquer. Sparta, encouraged to war with Athens in 457, was assisted by Persian silver. Athens, for suitable recompense, signed the Peace of Callias in 449 abandoning her Egyptian allies. Sparta received Persian aid during the Peloponnesian War. The Egyptians could only pay in grain, the Persians paid cash.

In spite of this able Persian policy, Egypt benefited from the Greek situation indirectly as well as directly. It is not without significance that Egypt was able to remain free for some time after the Peloponnesian War. Sparta used her undisputed hegemony at the end of that war to attack Persian territories in Asia Minor. Persia's need to protect and recover the Anatolian region prevented an effective, large scale attempt to reconquer Egypt, permitting the late dynastic rulers to build up their defenses.

Persia's fear of Athens led her to misjudge the Greek situation during the Peloponnesian War. Her first major failure in foreign policy was to make the assumption that a victorious Sparta would not be interested in affairs beyond the Greek mainland. Her second and final failure lay in ignoring until too late the developments in Macedon. Persian ambassadors visited the court of Macedon, but Persia did not anticipate that Philip II would gain mastery over the entire Greek world. Yet Philip's announced intention in seeking this mastery was to form a union strong enough to free all Hellenes from Persian danger.[23]

It seems likely that the Persians rejoiced at the news of Philip's murder, and along with many Greeks underestimated the young Alexander. His invasion caught the Persians unprepared. Not until Alexander had gained control of the entire Anatolian coast and much of the hinterland was an effective force fielded in an effort to stop him. When this army met defeat at Issos, the way was open into Syria and Egypt.

Tarn, Cohen and others[24] have exhaustively discussed the conquests and policies of Alexander. They do not require repetition here, but one or two comments relative to Egypt are in order. It is impossible to be sure how effective Alexander's arrangements might have been had he lived to a ripe old age, but it is unlikely in view of the beginning which was made that they would have satisfied Egypt. Not only his failure to punish Cleomenes is involved in this assessment, though that was indicative of the whole problem. Alexander was too far away and too unacquainted with Egyptian needs to have made the Two Lands happy.

[23] Isocrates of Athens believed him and was pro-Philip. Demosthenes bitterly opposed him. See Demosthenes' *Philippics.*

[24] Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1946), Cohen, *Alexandre et le Démembrement de son Empire* (Paris, 1945). See also works by Ehrenberg, Berve, Wilcken, Willamowitz-Mollendorf *et al.*

Alexander's entire policy would have proved offensive to Egyptian national pride. The Egyptians were strongly nationalistic and very resentful of foreigners, especially of Greeks. Alexander seems to have wished to bring about an intermingling of race and culture. To this end he established Greek cities, married a Persian wife, encouraged his Macedonians to take native wives, and apparently planned to employ natives of all countries in important official positions without favoring the Macedonians. While this vast project of mixing was taking place, he sought to provide a symbol of unity in his own person as a god-king. Only the latter was acceptable to Egyptian feeling.

The vision was beautiful, but unlikely to be achieved. Alexander never had an opportunity to prove himself as an administrator, but unless his subordinates had shared his dream in full measure, and they did not, failure was inevitable.

Nevertheless, Alexander did for a time eliminate the need for any specific foreign policy. Controlling as he did all the diverse elements of the ancient Near Eastern and Greek world there was for that one, short point in time no international problem. And this constitutes one of the most amazing and fascinating facts in world history. It was impossible that such a condition could long continue, whether Alexander lived or died, but it made him unique. No other ruler, not even Julius Caesar, managed to change all international affairs to purely domestic matters.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Egypt was fortunate in her rulers after the death of Alexander. In fact, his demise and the accession of Ptolemy to the Pharaonic office was very much to her advantage. She received a line of rulers who, like the native kings of the Saite and Late Dynastic eras, identified their interests with Egypt and pursued the national good. They brought the added asset of sufficient strength to bring peace, unity and protection to the troubled land. They became Egyptianized, for while the Ptolemies made use of Greek and Macedonian troops and patronized Greek artists, scientists and writers, they at the same time maintained Egyptian legal and civil administration and pursued the traditional religious and political policies.

Finding themselves gods, they became bound by the faith and traditions of Egypt. They became reconciled to being worshipped, accepted the advice of the oracles and the priests, and married their divine sisters. Being Pharaoh in a practical sense, they disputed the control of markets and trade routes with their Seleucid neighbors in Syria. They became staunch "upholders of Maat."

"What is the king of Upper and Lower Egypt?" asked the Vizier Rekhmirē' in the fifteenth century before the Christian era, and immediately provided the rhetorical answer: "He is the god by whose dealings one lives, the father and mother of all men, alone by himself without an equal." Was he any less important to the Egyptian living under Psamtik I, Amasis, Darius, Nekhtenebef or Alexander? These "lords of the Two Lands," they "of the sedge and the bee," "sons of Rē'," "delighting the heart of their father (Amen, Osiris, Rē', Neith)," "upholders of Maat"; were they not Pharaohs? Whether native-born, Persian or Macedonian each of them sought to discharge the heavy responsibility laid on him by Egypt's expectation. Not every ruler carried his burden with the ease of Psamtik I or the grace of the merry Amasis, but even the Persians tried within the limits of imperial necessity to fulfill their obligations.

But Pharaoh was primarily an Egyptian god, and the Egyptians demanded his undivided and patriotic attention. "Maat" was the divine world order centered in Egypt. It could not be shifted successfully to Persia. Pharaoh was necessary in the divine order and the divine order was necessary to Pharaoh. It justified his very existence, justified his use of the labor and wealth of Egypt. But if there was any clash—

if Pharaoh did not fulfill his obligations, did not "uphold Maat"—then Pharaoh had to go. He was "not on the way of the gods."

After the end of the Saite period, much of the actual power lay in the hands of the priesthoods and the feudal nobility. It was they who roused the people to revolt against the Persians and against the last native rulers; they who determined that a Pharaoh was "not on the way of the gods." Yet they were not able to bring security to Egypt. Only a Pharaoh could do so.

The Egyptian king personified Egypt. He was Egypt. In him the Egyptians saw all their national aspirations, all their effectiveness as a community. Without him there was no unity. Bound by tradition, yet benefiting from its framework, the Pharaoh existed as the real, not merely symbolic, embodiment of nationalism and patriotism. When the identification was complete, both Pharaoh and Egypt were strong. When it was incomplete, both were weak. Not until the Roman period was a non-resident ruler accepted for long in Egypt. For as Yoyotte said, Egypt "was determined not to die." To remain alive, to continue her slowly evolving but continually living culture she needed her kings.

APPENDIX A

DATING PROBLEMS

The dating of events in this period of ancient Near Eastern history is fairly clear, and for the most part quite accurate. The chief difficulties lie in: 1) the date of the accession of Psamtik I, 2) the date of Josiah's death because of its bearing on the events of the reign of Necho, 3) the total length of Amasis' reign and thereupon that of his successor Psamtik III, 4) the method of dating the reign of Cambyses, and 5) the confusion in the lengths of the reigns of the rebel princes during the struggle against Persia. In considering these chronological problems, the last (point 5) is probably impossible to solve without the discovery of further documentary evidence, but much has been done to clarify the issues involved in the Saite period and in the reign of Cambyses.

Kienitz,[1] Parker[2] and Yoyotte[3] have devoted considerable attention to Saite chronology but have unfortunately reached no agreement on the exact dates for the above points (1 through 3). They do agree, however, on some of the factors bearing on the problems. For example it is agreed that the Egyptian method of recording regnal years sometimes resulted in the counting of two regnal years for one civil year. When an Egyptian king came to the throne his regnal years were made to agree with the civil calendar. That is, Psamtik I reigned 54 full years with some months over into his 55th year. These extra months were counted as Year 55 of Psamtik. On Psamtik's death, Necho completed the year, which was thereupon counted as Necho's Year I. Thus year 55 of Psamtik is the same as year 1 of Necho.[4] Oddly enough, the problem concerning the date of the accession of Psamtik I (point 1) is bound up with the length of the reigns of Amasis and Psamtik III (point 3). As Parker explains, the latest recorded date under Amasis is in Year 44, but there is no indication or proof that he did not reign 44 full years and some months into the 45th. Parker has discovered evidence which convinces him that this is the case.[5] Kienitz, Griffith and all other previous students of the period except Petrie have assumed that Amasis died before completing his 44th year. Since the total of the reigns of all the Saite kings is known (94 years up to the accession of Amasis), and a terminal point ends the Saite period with the Persian

[1] Kienitz, *op. cit., passim.*
[2] Parker, "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty", MDAI/AK XV (1957), pp. 208-212.
[3] Yoyotte, "Nechao", *Dict. du Bible, op. cit.,* p. 391.
[4] Parker, *op. cit.,* p. 208.
[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 211-212.

conquest which is quite certainly dated to May or June of 525, the length of Amasis' reign can determine the year of accession of Psamtik I. There is thus a difference of one year between Parker's chronology and that followed by Kienitz and others. Figure A makes this clear.

PARKER'S CHRONOLOGY

Ruler	Full Years of Reign	Dates
Psamtik I	54	664-610
Necho II	15	610-595
Psamtik II	6	595-589
Apries	19	589-570
Amasis	44	570-526
Psamtik III	1	526-525

STANDARD CHRONOLOGY (KIENITZ, *et al.*)

Ruler	Full Years of Reign	Dates
Psamtik I	54	663-610
Necho II	15	609-595
Psamtik II	6	594-589
Apries	19	588-570
Amasis	43	569-527
Psamtik III	1	526

FIGURE A. Two Schemes of Saite Chronology. Taken from Parker, "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Abteilung Kairo* XV (1957), pp. 208 and 212.

The length of Amasis' reign is also important to the clarification of the Egyptian dating of Cambyses. Since he conquered Egypt in the early summer of 525 and left Egypt in 522, dying en route while in Syria, how could "Year 6 of Cambyses" be recorded in Egypt? Yet it is. Griffith, in his discussion of Papyrus Rylands IX, thought that Cambyses ignored the reign of Psamtik III entirely and dated his own accession back to the death of Amasis.[6] Parker has accepted this theory[7] which indeed seems the only possible explanation. If so, it would add support to Parker's chronological scheme because even if Cambyses' sixth year is assumed to be a part of 522-521 (coincident with Year I of Darius), it would push his accession date back to 527:

Regnal Years of Cambyses	Corresponding Civil Years
Year I	527-526
(equals Year 45 or 44 of Amasis and Year 1 of Psamtik III)	
Year II	526-525
Year III	525-524
Year IV	524-523
Year V	523-522
Year VI (equals Year 1 of Darius)	522-521

FIGURE B. The Egyptian Chronology of the Reign of Cambyses.

[6] *Pap. Ryl.* IX. [7] Parker, *op cit.*, p. 210.

There remains the question of Josiah's death (point 2) which would be helpful in dating the campaigns of Necho in Palestine and Syria. The most thorough discussion of the chronology has been made by Yoyotte, who questions the traditional date of 609 accepted by Kienitz and De Meulenaere.[8] The problem is similar in nature to these already discussed. It is fairly well established that Nebuchadrezzar took Jerusalem for the first time in mid-March of 597, taking Jehoiakin prisoner after a reign of three months. His predecessor Jehoiakim ruled for eleven years according to II Kings,[9] and Jehoahaz three months before him. Thus the capture of Jerusalem would seem to be separated from the death of Josiah by eleven and one half years. However in examining the dates and regnal years of the kings of Jerusalem given in II Kings, it is immediately noticeable that all reigns are given in full years save those which like Jehoahaz and Jehoiakin are said to have lasted three months. Is it not possible that the dating followed substantially the same system used in Egypt? The rounded figures in months for the short reigns, and years for the long reigns strongly suggest that the regnal years were made to correspond with the civil years as in Egypt. If so, the likely date for the death of Josiah, together with the logical time for a campaign by Necho, would seem to be the spring of 608. See Figure C for clarification.

Kings in Jerusalem	Full Years of Reign	Civil Dates
Josiah	30 plus 3 or more months	died 608
Jehoahaz	0 — three months	died 608
Jehoiakim	10 plus several months	608-598
Jehoiakin	0 — three months and some days	Dec. 598-Mar. 597.

FIGURE C. Probable Dates of the Kings of Judah Contemporary with Necho. Information based on II Kings 23, 24 and 25.

Any other chronological arrangement would seem to make a date in the Fall of 609 necessary for the Battle of Megiddo in which Josiah fell. Yet II Kings clearly states that it occurred at the beginning of Necho's expedition, not at the end of one. Ancient campaigns were almost always confined to Spring and Summer. It therefore would follow most logically that Necho left Egypt in early Spring, fought and defeated Josiah who died from his wounds no later than May. Jehoahaz reigned through the summer months, possibly until August, when Necho, preparing to end his campaign and make all secure before Fall, deposed him in favor of Jehoiakim. If this assumption is correct, the civil year 608 counted as the thirty-first year of Josiah, the entire reign of Jehoahaz and the first year of Jehoiakim. This should at least be considered.

[8] Yoyotte, "Nechao", *loc. cit.* [9] II Kings 23:36.

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